

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,

From the earliest Account of Time, to the  
Death of Sir *William Wallace*.

Compiled from original Authors.

The second Edition corrected.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II

L O N D O N:

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From the  
of Time, to the  
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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
NORTH-BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

An Account of BRITAIN till FERGUS the First; and then of NORTH-BRITAIN, from FERGUS, the First Founder of the SCOTISH MONARCHY, to the Reign of JAMES the Sixth of SCOTLAND, and First of ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

*An Account of the first Inhabitants that landed in BRITAIN after the DELUGE.*

**B**UCHANAN, Maitland, Robertson, and all judicious historians agree, that Great Britain in general was first inhabited after the flood, by a colony of the Gauls; and Maitland is the only one who produced the strongest arguments concerning the time that the Gauls entered into our Island. And though we cannot agree in every part of Mr. Maitland's history, yet we must acknowledge, that he has been at great pains in studying several histories for finding out several matters concerning Scotland; the history of which he wrote about 20 years ago. ' Having, says he, endeavoured to trace the Gauls from their origin, and given some

account of their government, customs, and religion, I shall now attempt to shew their first settling in Gaul, as near as a thing so remote, obscure, and involved in the dust of time and fables will admit : and, by a certain allowance, shall endeavour to shew the time when this island was at first peopled by them ; with a probable account how their descendants, the Gauls, our predecessors, at first came to be called Scots.

“ Now, as it is said that the Celts arrived in our neighbouring country of Gaul, at present called France, above three thousand six hundred years ago, it may be reasonably presumed, that at that time, when the people multiplied so fast, it could not be long ere a colony from thence came into this island, especially considering the many natural advantages which invited them hither. Now, allowing three hundred years for that space, which I take to be too much, Britain must then have been planted above three thousand three hundred years ago ; which is in some measure corroborated by the vast number of its inhabitants at the arrival of the Romans, under the command of Caesar, in the year 54 before the incarnation.”

The same author also takes notice of the time that Pezron mentions when the Gauls were settled in France, cotemporary with the patriarch Isaac, who was born about the year of the world 2107 ; after the flood 451 years, and 1897 years before the incarnation of our Lord.

But here it may be objected, how could the Gauls settle in France so soon after the Deluge, their great wars and different fatigues would lessen their number ? And how could they travel and cross so many seas or rivers and settle in Gaul or France in four or five centuries ? In answer to this ; tho’ it must be acknowledged, that many were cut off early after the Deluge by reason of wars ; yet we must consider, that the longevity, early after the flood, was great, and the inhabitants of the earth soon increased to a prodigious number. Consider the great numbers that possessed Egypt soon after the flood, and many other places, which we have shewn from scripture. And, touching on navigation by Jacob blessing Zebul-



lun we would think that sailing was used in his time : and the best of historians agree, that the earth was generally peopled early after the flood, and navigation in part know so as people could ferry from one kingdom to another.

We have no reason to doubt but France was inhabited as soon as the fourth or fifth century after the flood : and it is probable there were some inhabitants in France sooner.

It would be intertaining could we know when and who first landed in our island since the Deluge : but the exact time of the first persons who landed here in Britain we do not know ; nor can we give an account of what kind of people the very first were who came here : but we are sure, that Britain in general was first peopled by the Gauls ; and it is very probable, that part of these we here sooner than Mr. Maitland alledges. It is likely, that as soon as the Gauls had settled in France, that some of them would set out for Britain, seeing France is but about 20 miles from Dover in England : so the Gauls could easily see the British ground from Calais in France ; and, in all likelyhood, they did not stay long there till they came into our island. It is not unlikely but that some of the Gauls were in Britain as early as the days of Abraham the patriarch, or about the time of his death, 1822 years before our Lord's birth. And it is also probable, that the very first persons that landed in our island, since the deluge, were Gauls, because of their being so early here : but if there were any earlier since the flood, as some authors have alledged, we cannot think that they increased here to any great number. However, we are not certain but there might be a few people here as early as the birth of Abraham, who might be Gomerians, or some other of Noah's family. But still we affirm, that the Britains in general are sprung from the Gauls ; and we do not deny, but there might be a mixture of them, and also a mixture of other people among the very first possessors of our island : but by far the greatest number, and ruling party, for several centuries before the incarnation of our Lord, were without doubt the Gauls ; which we shall prove in the next chapter.

# THE HISTORY OF

## CHAP. II.

### *The BRITAINS in general proven to be the Seed of the GAULS.*

**W**HEN no authentic records can be produced for the origin of nations, the affinity of languages, manners, and religion must be looked into to find out the descent: for instance, if several persons were to go from Glasgow, Paisley, Greenock, Edinburgh, or London, just now for an island in America, or any place of the world, that few or no inhabitants ever were in before, and take up their habitation, can it be supposed but they would retain the English language, and name the places there by the names of those here in Britain, calling one place, Glasgow; another, Paisly; another, Greenock; another, Edinburgh; and another, London, &c? And it is more than probable, that they would, in some measure, retain their religion and other customs, as they had here? We could give the world as many undeniable proofs as would fill volumes that our forefathers are the Gauls: but not to weary our readers, we shall only give a short specimen first of the comparison of *languages*.

A TABLE, or comparative view of six languages, to shew the origin of the Gaelick, or ancient Scottish language, improperly so called.

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Gaulish.</i> | <i>Gaelick.</i> | <i>Welsh.</i> | <i>Spanish.</i> | <i>French.</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Air             | Aer             | Aear            | Awyr          | Aire            | Air            |
| All             | Oll             | Ule             | Oll           | Todo            | Tout           |
| Bar             | Baar            | Barra           | Bolht         | Tranca          | Barre          |
| Bastard         | Bastard         | Bastard         | Bastardd      | Bastardo        | Batard         |
| Cabbage         | Caul            | Cal             | Kaberthen     | Repollo         | Chori          |
| Cable           | Cabl            | Cabla           | Rhasfangor    | Cable           | Cable          |
| Daggar          | Dag             | Bi-dag          | Cleddyfar     | Daga            | Dogac          |

# N O R T H - B R I T A I N .

3

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Gaulish.</i> | <i>Gaelick.</i> | <i>Welsh.</i> | <i>Spanish.</i> | <i>French.</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|----------------|
| Dance           | Dausa           | Dabfa           | Llammn        | Dancar          | Danse          |
| Egg, an         | Uy              | Ugh             | Wy            | Heuvo           | Oeuf           |
| Eleven          | Undec           | Hoondeugh       | Unarddeg      | Onze            | Onze           |
| Feast, a        | Fest            | Feusda          | Gwledd        | Fiesta          | Festin         |
| Field, a        | Mag             | Magh            | Maes          | Agro            | Champ          |
| Garden          | Gard            | Gairde          | Gardd         | Jardin          | Jardin         |
| Glory           | Gloar           | Gloir           | Clod          | Honra           | Gloire         |
| Hall, a         | Hall            | Halla           | Neyodh        | Sala            | Sale           |
| Hemp            | Canab           | Cnarb           | Cywarch       | Canamo          | Chanvre        |
| Image           | Imaich          | Iomaigh         | Delw          | Imagen          | Image          |
| Innkeeper       | Hofstis         | Hofstaire       | Llettywr      | Hofstaleto      | Hotelier       |
| Knee            | Glin            | Glin            | Glin          | Kinojo          | Genou          |
| Labour          | Labour          | Lobair          | Lafor         | Trabajor        | Labeur         |
| Lake, a         | Laquen          | Loch            | Grelyn        | Lago            | Lac            |
| Man, a          | Dyn             | Dune            | Dyne          | Hombre          | Homme          |
| Mantle, a       | Mante           | Mantil          | Llawdr        | Manto           | Manteau        |
| Naked           | Noeth           | Nofngte         | Noeth         | Encarnes        | Nud            |
| Nature          | Natur           | Nattur          | Natur         | Mundo           | Nature         |
| Oil             | Oleu            | Ola             | Olew          | Azeite          | Huile          |
| One             | Un              | Haon            | Un            | Uno             | Un             |
| Pain            | Poen            | Pian            | Poen          | Pena            | Peine          |
| Park, a         | Parc            | Paire           | Parc          | Parque          | Parc           |
| Rabbit, a       | Coulnich        | Coinin          | Cwninger      | Gacapo          | Rabbet         |
| Radish, a       | Rabes           | Raidis          | Rlneddigh     | Rabano          | Rave           |
| Sea, the        | Mar             | Mur             | Mor           | Mar             | Mer            |
| Secret, a       | Rhin            | Run             | Cyfunach      | Secreto         | Secret         |
| Tavern, a       | Tavarn          | Taibheirne      | Tafarn        | Taverna         | Cabaret        |
| Tear, a         | Daigr           | Dear            | Deigr         | Lagrima         | Larme          |
| Verse           | Vertz           | Fearfa          | Gwers         | Verfs           | Vers           |
| Viol            | Fiol            | Fiole           | Telyn         | Vihnela         | Viole          |
| Wax             | Coir            | Ceir            | Cywr          | Cera            | Cire           |
| Wine            | Vin             | Fion            | Gwyn          | Vino            | Vin            |

We shall next give the names of towns and places of the Gauls, that have an affinity to one another.



## In FRANCE.

Augustodunum of the Aedui or Burgundians.

Castellodunum, of the Carnotensian province, *i. e.* of Chartres.

Melodunum, by the river Sequana, or Sein.

Lugdunum, at the confluence of the rivers Arar and Rhosne.

Augustodunum, another Autun, of the Averni, or Auvergenois and Clermontians, Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, of the Conveni, or Comingeois, near the river Garon, Ptolemy.

Novidunum, in the Tribocci's country, Ptolemy.

Uxellodunum in Caesar.

Juliodunum in the Picton's country, *i. e.* Poictieres.

Ifodunum, and Regiodunum, of the Bituriges, *i. e.* inhabitants of Berry.

Laodunum, or Laudunum, in the county of Rheims.

Caesarodunum, Ptolemy, of the Turones, *i. e.* Tourenois.

Segodunum, of the Ruthenians, Ptolemy.

Velannodunum (or St. Flour) in Caesar.

## In SPAIN.

Caladunum, Ptolemy, of the Bracari, or Braganzians.

Sebendunum, Ptolemy.

## In BRITAIN.

Camulodunum, of the Brigantes country, Ptolemy.

Camulodunum, a Roman colony, Tacitus.

Dunum, a town of the Durotriges, or Dorsetshire men, Ptolemy.

Maridunum Demetarum, *i. e.* Caermarthen, of the Demetae, Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Rigodunum, of the Brigantes, Ptolemy, *i. e.* Ribchester in Lancashire.

Cambodunum, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *i. e.* Ruines near Almonbury, in Yorkshire.

## NORTH-BRITAIN.

Margidunum, in the same Itinerary, *i. e.* Margedovorton in Leicestershire, near Belvoir Castle; or, as some, Leicester itself.

Sorviodunum, or Sorbiodunum, in the same Itinerary; *i. e.* old Sarum in Wiltshire.

Segodunum, *i. e.* Seton in Northumberland; and Axelodunum, *i. e.* Hexam, in Northumberland also, in the book of the *notitia Romani imperii*, or knowledge of the Roman empire, &c.

## Later towns in ENGLAND.

Venantodunum, *i. e.* Huntingdon.

Dunelmum, *i. e.* Durham.

## In SCOTLAND.

Dunaledon, called also Caledonia, *i. e.* Dunkelden.

Deidunum, *i. e.* Dundee, or rather Taodunum, by the river Tay.

Edinodunum, which word the ancient Scots do yet retain, but they who germanize, had rather call it Edinburgh.

Donum, a town in Ireland, called Down.

Noviodunum, or New Down, *i. e.* Dunmore castle in Coval.

Brittannodunum, *i. e.* Dumbritton or Dumbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Levin.

And at this day there are innumerable names of castles, villages, and hills compounded with *dunum*.

In Germany, these names are read in Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, *i. e.* Leyden; Segodunum, *i. e.* Nurnburgh; Tarodunum, *i. e.* Friburgh; Robodunum, *i. e.* Brin; Carrodunum, *i. e.* Crainburgh.

In the Alps country.

Ebrodunum and Sedunum.

## THE HISTORY OF

In the Vindelici or Bavarians country, in Rhaetia, the Grisons country, and Noricum.

Cambodunum, Corrodunum, Gesodunum, Idunum and Noviodunum; and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, Parrodunum, i. e. Partenkirk.

In Samarcia and Dacia, according to Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, Singindunum, by the Danow; Noviodunum at the mouth of the Danow; also another Noviodunum.

And there are, in the same provinces, not a few words declined from Dur, which among the old Gauls and Brittons signifies water, and as yet retains the same signification amongst some, as there are

In France.

Durocorti in the Rhemish circuit, Ptolemy; we read them also Durocorti; moreover, Caesar makes mention of Divodurum, of the Mediomatrices. Tacitus, Divodurum near Paris; in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Batavodurum amongst the Batavi, Ptolemy, Tacitus. Breviodorum in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus. Gannodurum in Ptolemy near the Rhine. Gannodurum in the Helvetians country, Ptolemy. Octodurum, or Octodorus, amongst the Veragri, Caesar.

In Rhaetia, the Vindelici's country, and Noricum.

Bragodurum, Carrodurum, Ebodurum, Gannodurum, and Octodurum, Ptolemy. Venaxamodurum and Bododurum, in the book of the *knowledge of the provinces*.

In Spain.

Octodurum, and Ocellodurum, Ptolemy: the river Durus flowing into the ocean, and Duria into the Mediterranean sea, and in Ireland the river Dur; Ptolemy.

In Britain.

Durocibrivae, Duroprovae, Durolenum, Durovernum, Durolipont, Durotriges, Durocornovium, Durolitum, Durovaria, Lactodurum.



## N O R T H - B R I T A I N .

Here we may take notice, that the affinity of the language and names of the places before mentioned agree pretty near when compared, but the length of time makes some alterations which we may know by tracing. By this it will appear that our island was, few centuries after the deluge, possessed by the Celts or Gauls. And for the further proof of this, in shewing the affinity of their *manners* and *religion* we resair till we come to the period of Caesar's coming into Britain; and shall go on in the course of our history.

### C H A P. III.

*The affairs of BRITAIN since it was first inhabited about the days of ABRAHAM, till the reign of FERGUS the first, the beginning of which was 330 years before the birth of our Saviour. And also traits in confuting several late historians, who are for cutting off a series of kings that undoubtedly reigned in Britain. This is a period of about 1500 years.*

**I**T is but little that can be said anent the inhabitants of Britain in this period: but we know they lived under their different chiefs, or heads of Clans, and idolatrous druid priests who were holden in great veneration among them.

Mr. Guthery thinks that the antient Britons were patriarchical: but though some of the antient Britons might not be so great idolaters as others of their neighbours, yet it is to be feared, that the inhabitants of Britain even from their first entring our island, till the embracing of christianity, early after our Saviour's Asension, were generally gross idolaters. Their druids taught them to offer human sacrifices, worship idols in groves, and many other abominations: notwithstanding they were not so ignorant as many other idolaters; for they owned a supreme God; taught that the souls of people were immortal, and would enjoy a good or bad place after their death. According as they lived. The commonality had their

different chiefs, or heads of clans also, who were held in great esteem. And it is very probable that the antient Britons had princes, or kings, some centuries before Fergus I. The little chronicle gives an account of Coilus king of the Britons in Fergus's days.

But any authentick accounts of the early governments of the antient Britons cannot be produced. But here we may observe, that several late authors have cut off no less than 39 Scots kings, and we could never see that such authors had any sufficient reasons to do so: for though we have not extent the books that were wrote earlier than Caesar, upon the affairs of Britain; yet the account of the different kings might be carried down from one generation till another, for several centuries. And we know that the Gauls were very clanish, and took great care in the tracing back their great ones. It was the custom of all nations, as soon as they were settled in kingdoms, to have kings ruling over them. We may observe the desire of the Israelites themselves, in the days of Samuel, when they would have a king over them, that they might be *like other nations*. And we may see how the wild Indians in America have their kings. But the reader may see more ample confutation of these late upstarts, who have maintained that kings were not here so early, in Mr. Abercromie's history of Scotland, near the beginning.

We shall conclude this chapter with shewing, that in this period, it appears that several kinds of the Gauls came here at different times: for we may observe, that in this period Britain was inhabited with Britons, Scots, and Picts. And by what we can learn from the best historians, the antient Britons were first possessors of our island; then the Scots, who came from Ireland about the year of the world 3270, according to Boetius: but as their language was much the same with the antient Britons, as is seen by the remains of it in the Highlands, Ireland, and Wales, but particularly in Wales; so we alledge, that part of the antient Britons, after settling here some time, went to Ireland, and returned from Ireland to Britain again: and as Ireland is not so near any other king-

dom as France is to Britain, we would think this is very probable. Notwithstanding, it appears from Caesar's account of British inhabitants having different languages, religions, customs, and arts, when he was here in our island, that some of the Gauls entered into Britain, at different times : but we think that their languages then, was different dialects of the antient Gomerians, Celtic, or Gaulish languages ; and the antient Britons, Scots, and Picts, are generally sprung from the Gauls. And we are certain, that in process of time, languages suffered great alterations. Our own English, we are sure, is only a compound of many other languages : and so are the general speeches used through the most part of the world, at this present time. However, we still maintain, that as both the customs, and languages, and arts of the antient Britons, Scots, and Picts, differed from one another, when Caesar invaded our island, before Christ's incarnation, that the offspring of the Gauls came from different places, at different times. By the best accounts the Scots came from Ireland 734 years before our Lord's incarnation, and the year of the world 3270, as we noticed before.—And of the Picts, who came from Germany into Britain, as Buchanan and several authors affirm, landed in Britain about 320 years before the birth of our Saviour. But the reader will have a more full account of the different inhabitants of Britain when we come, in the series of our history, to lay before him what we have from the Roman historians.

We come now to give an account of every king's reign in order; and shall begin first with North-Britain, or Scotland.

## C H A P. IV.

FERGUS *the first, king of Scotland.*

**I**T is generally agreed, among the historians, that the Scots were not the original inhabitants of this kingdom, but that they invaded it about four centuries before the incarnati-



on; and afterwards having conquered the Picts, the territories of both were called SCOTLAND: and that the word *Scot*, is no more than a corruption of *Scuyth*, or *Scythian*, being originally from that immense country, called Scythia by the antients.

This kingdom is about 300 miles in length, and 150 in breadth; lies between 54 and 59 degrees north latitude, and 1 and 6 west longitude; and contains an area of 27,794 miles: Or as some reckon, from the Mull of Galloway to Dunsbey-head in Caithness, it is 380 miles in length; and from Adermouth-head, near the isle of Mull to Buchanness, it is 190 miles in breadth: it is, however, so frequently cut by inlets of sea, that there is scarcely a house in the kingdom above 60 miles from it. It is bounded on the north, east, and west, by the Deucaledonian, German, and Irish seas; or more properly the Atlantic ocean: and on the south by England; from which, however, it has no natural boundary, if we except the Solway Firth near Carlisle, on the west; and the mouth of the Tweed at Berwick, on the east. Antiently, in the time of the Romans, it extended much farther; being bounded by a wall, raised by that people, between Newcastle and Carlisle: and under the Norman kings of England, it included the three northern counties of Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Cumberland.

It is currently reported by some authors, and there are many instances to confirm it, that a great multitude of Spaniards, driven out of their own country by their powerful Dons, or else voluntarily departing by reason of their superabounding populousness, transported themselves into Ireland, and seized upon those places of that island which were nearest to them: afterwards, the healthiness of the air, and the fatness of the pasturage, invited many others to follow them; especially seeing their seditions at home, and the injuries offered them by foreigners, (to which Spain was always subject,) drew many thither in hopes of a quieter life, (which they were more easily persuaded to undertake,) because they looked upon them-

selves as going into an island already possessed by their own people, and by that means, as it were, their second country. This stock of Spaniards did so flourish and increase, in a country fit for propagation, that now they were not contented with living in the bounds of Ireland, but frequently made emigrations into the lesser islands near adjacent.

In the mean time the Scots (for that was the general name of the whole nation) propagating their bounds through the islands of *Æbudae*, and dispersing themselves by tribes and kindreds, without either king or any fixed government; a German, or as Bede writes, a Scythian fleet came to the coasts of Ireland, being driven thither, it is very probable, by stress of weather; for they had not their wives or children aboard with them. They being very poor, having nothing left them by reason of so long a voyage, but only their arms, sent ambassadors to the Scots, desiring them that they might inhabit amongst them. Answer was sent them, that they themselves were compelled to seek their habitations in those small islands, which, by reason of the barrenness of the soil, were also unfruitful; and if it were otherwise, yet all of them, if they should forsake them quite, would not be sufficient to entertain so great a multitude. But in regard they pitied the common miseries of mankind, and were particularly affected with their condition, whom divine providence had so grievously afflicted; and who did not seem to be wholly strangers to their lineage, (as by their language and customs appeared,) they would therefore give them their advice, and as far as they were able, would assist them to execute it. Their advice to them was, to sail to their neighbour island, *Albion*, which was large and fruitful, and in many places then uninhabited; and also, by reason of the condition of those inhabitants that were in it, who were under several kings, at feud one with another, was consequently very weak. That amidst those discords it would be easy for them, by supporting the weaker side, to make themselves masters of that large country; and that, in this matter, they would afford them their assistance.

The narrowness of the Æbudæ, and the lowness of their own condition, for so it then was, made them give ear to this counsel. So that these Germans (who were afterwards, both by the Romans, and their neighbouring nations, called Picts) landing upon the coasts of the island bordering on the German sea; and having expelled the inhabitants, which were but few, and those at mutual discord amongst themselves, they brought a great part of that district under their subjection; and soon after, in the prosecution of the friendship with the Scots, so happily begun, they intermarried with them, and so were, in a manner, compacted into one nation with them. By this mutual intercourse betwixt them, a great many Scots, being either detained by their allies, who were yet but weak, or else driven by want and penury, or induced by the love of their relations, fixed their habitations amongst the Picts. The Picts at first were glad of their coming; but when they grew numerous, by degrees they began to fear, lest, if the Scots increased in strength, they would become their masters; so that first in their private assemblies, and afterwards in their public councils, they gave out that mighty cautions should be taken to hinder foreigners from being admitted among them, and some way found out to lessen the number of those who were already admitted. A rumour also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from heaven to the Picts, *That their nation should in time be extirpated by the Scots*. These suspicions caused the two nations, which before were very amicable, to part companies. The Scots betook themselves to the mountainous places, which were less fit for culture, in regard they were most addicted to pasturage and hunting; and the Picts possessed the low lands, which were fertile and fit for tillage, situate near the German sea. Thus their friendship, before contracted by so many mutual kindnesses, did soon break forth into a terrible civil war. For the seeds of a deadly hatred were sown between those two nations, both of them being of fierce dispositions; though the occasion at first was but trivial, as some little feuds and petty animosities, or some few injuries sustained.



The Britons, being enemies to both nations, having got this opportunity, fomented the dissensions; and freely offered aid to the Picts, even before they desired it, and against the Scots. When the Scots perceived that these things were in agitation against them, they sent elsewhere for aid, and procured a foreign king to assist them against so imminent a danger. The commanders of the islanders, being almost all of equal authority, and scorning to stoop one to the other; Fergus, the son of Ferchard, was sent for with forces out of Ireland, being counted the most eminent person among the Scots, both for advice and action. He, by the public consent of the people, was chosen king, and charged to prepare his army to undergo the shock of a battle, if need required. Just about the same time a rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the ears both of the Scots and Picts, that the Britons were acting deceitfully, and laying plots and counter-plots equally pernicious to both nations; and that they would set upon the conquered and conquerors together, with their arms; and destroying both, or else driving them out of the island, they themselves would enjoy the whole. This report made both armies doubtful what course to take; and for a time kept them both within their trenches. At length they came to a treaty, and, perceiving the secret fraud of the Britons, they inclined to make peace one with another; which being confirmed, the three different armies returned home. The Britons failing in their first project, had recourse to another stratagem. They sent robbers underhand amongst the Picts, who drove away their cattle; when the Picts demanded restitution, they answered, that they should seek it from the Scots who were accustomed to thieving and plundering, rather than from them. Thus they eluded the embassy, and sent away their ambassadors without their errand; so that the matter appeared to be a plain mockery. Their fraudulent counsels being thus more and more discovered, the late reproach incensed the hearts of both nations against them, more than the remaining grudges and resentments for their former injuries; and therefore levying as great an army as they could,

both kings invaded, two several ways, the coasts of the Britons; and putting the country to fire and sword, returned home with a great booty. To revenge this loss, the Britons entered Scotland, and came as far as the river Don; and having ravaged the country thereabouts, with greater terror than loss to the inhabitants, they pitched their tents upon the bank of the river. Fergus having sent their wives and children, and other portable things, into the mountains, and places inaccessible to armies, secured all the avenues, till the Picts came up; with whom he at length joined his forces, and, communicating counsels one with another, they resolved to make a diversion, and lengthen the war, by making an incursion with vast forces into their enemies country; and so to weary them out. But Coilus (that was the name of the king of the Britons) understanding by his spies the cause of their delay, sends five thousand men before to lie in ambush in the upper grounds, and he determined to lead forth the rest of his army directly against the enemy. When the Picts knew this, they again consulted with the Scots, and, by way of prevention, they agree to assault the camp of the Britons by night; and accordingly, drawing out their forces, the Scots in the front, and Picts in the rear, attack their enemies before day; and, by this means, they made a great slaughter of the Britons, being as it were half asleep, whom the former delays of their enemies had made secure and confident. In this battle Coilus himself fell, with the greatest part of his army, and made the place in which it was fought famous, from his name. Fergus returning home a conqueror, the Scots settled the regal government upon him and his posterity, by the solemnity of an oath. Afterwards, having quieted matters in Scotland, he returned back into Ireland, to quell seditions there; where having composed all things, as he was returning home, a tempest arising suddenly, he was drowned, not far from the port called from him *Fergus's rock*, i. e. Knock-Fergus, or Carrick-Fergus, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Historians say, that his coming into Albium was at the time when Alex-

ander the Great took Babylon, about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ.

We have now given a short description of the first founder of the Scottish monarchy, which was undoubtedly FERGUS the first.

In this chapter we have principally followed Buchanan ; and it must be acknowledged that he was possessed with a great many old manuscripts and writings which gave him a great deal of knowledge concerning the Scots affairs. We cannot however agree with him in every particular. Boetius gives a history of a great many kings from which Fergus was sprung, that ruled over the Scots in Ireland ; but as he is fictitious in many of his accounts, we have not inserted them. We now proceed to the subsequent kings of the Scots.

## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the Scots Kings, from the end of the reign of FERGUS the First, which were before Christ, until Caesar's first entering Britain, fifty-four years before the incarnation.*

**T**HOUGH Fergus the first left behind him two sons, Ferleg and Manius, yet both being minors, his brother FERITHAR was raised to the crown. It must be acknowledged, that all the northern nations in early ages had a strong attachment to the collateral succession by brothers instead of sons. The Scots, however, to support the hereditary right of descent, tell us, that their ancestors made a law ordaining, that whilst the children of their kings were infants, one of their kindred, who was judged most accomplished for the government, should sway the scepter in their behalf ; and if he died, then the succession of the kingdom should descend to the former king's sons. Ferleg, impatient to see his uncle mount the throne of Fergus, and govern his subjects with glory and moderation, demanded his crown. Ferithar referred



the dispute to an assembly of the states, who confirmed him on the throne; and it was owing to the lenity of his uncle, that they did not condemn Ferleg for sedition. He was, indeed, imprisoned, but finding means to escape, he solicited, first, the Picts, and then the Britons, for assistance; but failed with both. In the mean time, Ferithar being stabbed in his bed, the blame was thrown on Ferleg: upon which he was set aside from the succession, and died in obscurity.

Ferithar was succeeded by his nephew MANIUS, who is said to have been a pious prince, and to have reigned twenty nine years. His son DORNADIL was the Scottish nimrod, and instituted the laws of hunting among their Highlanders. Fordun particularizes other princes besides those mentioned, who succeeded Fergus, the son of Ferchard. He informs us, that REUTHER or RETHER was the son of Dornadil, but being a minor, that his uncle NOTHAT was acknowledged king; and that he was killed in a battle with his nephew, who was immediately crowned. The friends of Nothat raised rebellion, and were headed by one Ferchard, chieftain of Kintyre and Lorn, who was routed by Doval, the leader of the Brigantes, or the Gallowaymen; upon which young Reuther married the daughter of Getus, king of the Picts. A bloody war ensued, the two chieftains were killed, the young king taken prisoner, and the Picts were driven by the Britons to the Orkney-islands. The latter then fell upon the Scots, and their king Oenus defeated Reuther, whom he besieged in the castle of Berigone, where he was so straitly beset, that he was forced to make his escape to Ireland; but all his faithful followers were put to the sword. Being invited some years after, by a new generation of Scots and Picts, he put himself at their head, and was joined by Getus, king of the latter. In conjunction, they fought Syfil king of the Britons; but neither party had reason to boast of the victory. Both, however, were so heartily tired of the war, that a peace was concluded; and Reuther settled in that part of Scotland which is called from him Retherdale or Reddesdale. We are told by Fordun, that some

writers pretend he was killed in an action with the Britons, in that province or district. Others say, that he reigned twenty-six years, and died in peace in the year 187 before the incarnation, leaving behind him two sons, Thereus and Josina.

Thereus being a minor, the affairs of government were administered by his cousin REUTHA, who is represented as an excellent prince, and to have brought the Scots acquainted with commerce and the arts. THEREUS growing up, Reutha resigned to him the scepter; but he proved a tyrant, and his subjects rising in arms against him, he was forced to take refuge among the Britons; while one Conan acted as a kind of a temporary viceroy, with great applause. Hearing that Thereus was dead, he resigned the government to his brother JOSINA, who is said to have been an excellent botanist, and a patron of physicians. He died after a reign of twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son FINNAN, who proved a worthy prince, and made a decree, "That kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance without the authority of their great council." He reigned thirty years, and was succeeded by his profligate son DURSTUS; who, finding that his noblemen intended to dethrone him for his lewdness and wickedness, pretended to be a sincere convert to virtue; but having prevailed with the heads of the conspiracy to put themselves into his hands, he murdered them all. The surviving part of his subjects took arms, defeated and killed him in battle; upon which the insurgents proclaimed his cousin-german EVEN, or EIVEN, king of Scotland. In this time the Scots and Picts joined against the Britons, and this brought on a war which disposed all parties to peace. Even is praised as a strict justiciary, and an excellent superintendant of the education of youth. After reigning nineteen years he left a natural son, called GILLUS; but Dothan and Dougal, the twin sons of Durstus, claimed the throne. Both of them were murdered by Gillus, as were two of Dothan's Sons, and the third, Eder, was saved by his nurse. The murder the royal family being known, the Scots and Picts united under Cadval, the chieftain

of the Brigantes, to revenge their death; upon which the tyrant fled to Ireland. He was pursued, defeated, and killed by Cadva. In the mean time, young Eder being a minor, EVEN or ELVEN the second, as being the first prince of the blood, and nephew to Finnan, was chosen king, or rather administrator of the realm. He renewed the league with Getus, king of the Picts, and entirely subdued Belus, king of the Orkneys, who made a descent upon Scotland. He is said to have built Innerlochy and Innerness.

Having quelled all domestic commotions and foreign enemies, Even, according to some writers, resigned the throne to EDER; but Buchanan speaks as if he died in possession of it. The tranquillity which Even the second had restored to Scotland, was interrupted by an island chieftain, one Bredius, who was utterly defeated by Eder. This reign is chiefly conspicuous by falling in with Caesar's descent upon Britain, which we have already mentioned. Eder, if we are to believe some writers, sent his quota of troops to the assistance of the Southern Britons. Whatever may be in this, it is by no means absurd to suppose, that the Caledonians, or by what ever name the inhabitants of Scotland then went, assisted Cassibelan, and the other British princes, against the Romans; which may be presumed from the Britons alledging to Caesar, that they could not make peace without taking the sentiments of certain princes and people who lay at a vast distance. Even lived to a great age, and died in the forty-eighth year of his reign.

## C H A P. VI.

*An Account of the kings of Scotland from JULIUS CÆSAR's first entering into Britain, the end of the reign of DONALD the first, who is said to be the first Scots Christian king.*

THE method in which Boece and Buchanan have digested this period of their history, affords a strong presump-



tion that great part of it was the work of invention. We find few of the princes, who filled the Scotch throne by mere hereditary descent, deserving of that honour, unless they are trained up under princes who inherit by election, founded on proximity of blood. The name of the son of Eder, who immediately succeeds him, is called EVEN or EIVEN the third, who is represented as a monster of nature. Not contented with having a hundred noble concubines of his own, he made a law that a man might marry as many wives as he could maintain; that the king should have the first night with every noble bride, and the nobles the like with the daughters of their tenants. These are shocking institutions. It is to be hoped, for the honour of human nature, that they are misrepresented. It is to be feared, however, that they have some colour from the barbarous times of the feudal law, and that the *mercheta mulierum*, by which is meant, the mark or sum paid to superiors to exempt ladies from prostitution, was in consequence of a species of wardship which was not unknown to other nations besides the Scots. It is, however, certain, that lust and luxury introduced cruelty and rapaciousness, which ended in rebellion; and Even being dethroned, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where he was murdered in the seventh year of his reign.

Even the third was succeeded by METELLAN, who reigned when our Saviour was born, proved an excellent prince, and died in the thirty ninth year of his reign. Leaving no heirs of his own body, the Scotch historians have given him for his successor the famous CARACTAUS, who was carried prisoner to Rome, where he made a famous speech transmitted by Tacitus. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his brother CORBRED, who subdued the turbulent islanders and robbers, and was the author of many useful institutions to his country. We are told he preserved an inviolable friendship towards the Romans, till Didius, their general, at the desire of queen Carisimandua, who had imprisoned her husband, and raised her slave Velloca to her bed, invaded his dominions; upon which

he took arms, set Venitius at liberty, and carried on war against the Romans with no inconsiderable success. His sister is said to have been the famous Boadicea, so renowned in the British history. After her defeat and death, Corbret retired to his own dominions, where he died in peace in the eighteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him three sons, Corbred, Tulcan, and Brek, all minors. Scotch writers pretend, that his death happened in the year of our Lord seventy-one. DARDAN, who was nephew to Metellan, and consequently of the royal blood, was chosen to succeed him; but some say, that he was only appointed guardian to prince CORBRED till he should be of age, and this Corbred, is supposed to have been the famous GALGAFUS who fought Agricola. His history is undoubtedly, at this period, connected with that of Scotland, and as such we shall pursue it, after a slight review of what relates to Scotland in the Roman history, before Agricola invaded it.

Eutropius and Orosius inform us, that the emperor Claudius not only subdued a great number of British princes, but discovered the Orcades or Orkney-islands \*; and an antient inscription † taken from the palace of Barberini speaks of his having been the original discoverer of several barbarous nations. Tacitus, on the other hand, expressly says, that the Orcades never were discovered till the time of Agricola. There is some reason to believe the testimony of the two first mentioned authors are corroborated by the inscription; and that the discoveries made by Claudius were so insignificant that they had

\* Jam primum (says he) Romana classis circumventæ insulam esse Britanniam affirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Vit. Agric. C. 10.

† TI. CLAUDIO CÆS.

AVGVSTO

PONTIFICI. MAX. TR. P. IX.

COSV. IMP. XVI. P. P.

SENATVS. POPVL. Q. R. QVOD.

REGES BRITANNIÆ ABSQ.

VLLA JACTVRA DOMVERIT.

GENTESQVE. BARBARAS.

PRIMVS. IUDICIO. SVBEGERIT.

been abandoned, and even the memory of them lost in Agricola's time. We may likewise fairly presume, that the state of Scotland, or rather the northern parts of the island, was very different in the time of Claudius from what Agricola found it. The intermediate wars had undoubtedly driven great numbers of the Southern Britons northward, to avoid the Roman yoke; so that Scotland might have been an important object for Agricola, though not for Claudius. The history of those wars is foreign to this place; but we are to observe, that at the time we now treat of, the ninth legion was probably stationed in Scotland; and that it was afterwards incorporated into the sixth. We have no reason, excepting the doubtful Scotch authorities, to believe, that from the time Claudius left Britain, where he staid but six months, to the invasion of Agricola, any of the Roman generals carried their arms into Scotland; nor can we rank either the Brigantes or the Ordovices among the inhabitants of that country.

AGRICOLA, according to the noble historian Tacitus, was one of the most accomplished politicians, as well as generals, that Rome had ever seen, and in his own person the pattern of temperance, moderation, and military virtue. But Agricola at the same time was a Roman; that is, he studied the aggrandizement of his country at the expence of justice and humanity. After introducing into Britain the Roman arts, that he might soften the natives into subjection, he relieved them from many oppressions imposed upon them by his predecessors, merely with the insidious view of keeping them quiet, and reconciling them to the Roman sway, till he had totally reduced the island. Neither Tacitus, who was his profest panegyrist, nor any of the old Roman historians, inform us of any provocation that Agricola had to induce him to conquer Caledonia, but the unjustifiable glory of the conquest. His capital maxim was to bridle the Britons with forts; and in this he is said to have been so successful, that none of them were ever taken, betrayed, or given up. Having secured all to the south, in the third year of his command we find that he penetrated as far



as the river Tay; but we know no particulars of his progress. In his fourth year, he built a line of forts between the Clyde and the Forth, to exclude the Caledonians from the southern parts; and thereby, in some sense, he shut them up in another island. This manner of proceeding reflects honour upon the Caledonians, since so great a general as Agricola, with all southern parts of Britain at his command, and at the head of a powerful Roman army, had recourse to such expedients against their incursions.

There is reason for believing, that in the fifth year of Agricola's command, he took shipping, and subdued those parts of modern Scotland which lay to the south and the west of his forts, and which now contain the countries of Galloway, Kintyre, and Argyle, then inhabited by a people called Gangi. Some modern writers have been of opinion, that the Gangi inhabited Cheshire and the north part of Wales; but that is very improbable, because those parts were well known to the Romans; and Tacitus expressly tells us, that the people Agricola then conquered had never been discovered before. Add to this, that the Scotch counties we have mentioned are equally (if not more) commodious as Wales is for an invasion of Ireland, which Agricola then intended, and for which purpose he left a body of his troops there. Next year, his fleet sailed to the north of Bodotria, or the Firth of Forth, while he passed it at the head of his land army. It is to the glory of the Caledonians, that the tremendous appearance of a Roman fleet on their coasts, and of a Roman army in their territories, was so far from daunting, that it united them. Agricola, from what he had experienced in the southern parts, had depended greatly on the dis-union of the Caledonians for success. Being disappointed in his expectation, he proceeded with the utmost caution. He ordered his mariners to keep as near as possible to the coast: so that, sometimes they landed and mingled with the land troops. As usual, he guarded all his acquisitions by forts, and was particularly careful in founding the sea-coasts. It appears plainly, from the noble historian's narrative, that his situation required all those precautions.

The Roman historian renders it more than probable that Colbred, whom the Scotch historians call Galdus, but whom we shall (after Tacitus) call Galgacus, had served his apprenticeship to war in South Britain against the Romans; but we are not to adopt the narratives of Boece, Buchanan, and other Scotch historians, as to the particulars; though it must be acknowledged that he was a brave and experienced general, and seems to have been well acquainted with the military discipline of the Romans. He accordingly made dispositions for attacking Agricola's forts between the Clyde and the Forth. Agricola and the Romans had intelligence of his plan. Some of his officers advised him to re-cross Forth; but he, knowing that such a retreat would at once discourage his own soldiers, and give fresh spirits to the Caledonians and Britons, divided his army into three parts; each division having a communication with another. Upon this, Galgacus, whose original intention was to have cut off the communication of the Romans with the sea, and their retreat to the southwards, changed the plan of his operations, resolving to attack the weakest of the three divisions, which consisted of the ninth legion, and which was then, very probably, lying at Lohore, two miles from Loughleven, in Fife. The charge of the Caledonians, who have united their forces on the occasion, was in the night-time, and so furious, that Agricola, hearing of it by means of the communications he had established, dispatched his light troops to attack his enemies in the rear, who were now making great slaughter in the very heart of the Roman camp, while he himself advanced with the legionary forces to support them. The shouts of the light troops at once announced their arrival, and discouraged the Caledonians. The latter, unable to contend with the Roman discipline, strengthened by numbers, retired to marshes and fastnesses, to which their enemy could not pursue them.

The historian has magnified this escape of the ninth legion into a victory of the Romans; but, by other testimonies, the Britons, part of whom were the Caledonians, were no great sufferers; for, instead of being dismayed, they now thought

that the Romans were not invincible, and resolved to trust to their numbers and their courage, rather than their bogs and woods. For this purpose, they placed their wives and children in their most secure fastnesses. They strengthened their confederacy by solemn and religious rites, and brought into the field all who were able to bear arms; being persuaded that it was accident and fortune, and not valour and conduct, that effected the deliverance of the ninth legion. It is no wonder if the Romans, situated as they were, and finding their general resolved not to turn back, thought it safer to advance than to retreat. They demanded to be led to the extremities of Caledonia; and Agricola, accordingly, next summer led them to the foot of the Grampion hills, where the Caledonians resolved to make their last stand. Those hills divide Old Caledonia into two, from east to west. Part of them run from Athol down to the south side of the river Dee to the East-sea; and another branch terminates at the Western sea, from Athol down to Breadalbin. It is, however, extremely difficult, and would be foreign to our purpose, to trace them more particularly here. We are now supposed to follow Agricola to the eighth year of his expedition; and that he had reinforced his army by numbers of the provinciated Britons, whom he disciplined, and whom he could trust. He advanced against the Caledonians (his fleet still keeping pace with his army) and found them drawn up with their first rank at the foot of a rising-ground, which was covered with their other troops, while the intermediate space between them and the Romans were filled by their horses and chariots. Tacitus has given us a speech which he supposes Galgacus to have made on the occasion, and which is the most animated of any we meet with in antiquity. Though we are far from thinking it genuine, yet as that great author undoubtedly makes him speak in the well-known character of a British prince of those days, it would be unpardonable in us entirely to omit it.

He begins with painting the situation of his subjects and that of the Romans, and endeavours to fire the former with the reflection that they are still unsubdued; that they are the



noblest of all the Britons; and that their southern countrymen placed in them their last hope and resource. He then describes the ambition, the avarice, the pride, cruelty, and haughtiness of their enemies. "They are (says he) the only people ever known alike to affect wealth and poverty. They pillage, they murder; under false claims do they pilfer dominion; and when they create solitude they term it peace." He then proceeds to recount the various horrors that must attend the Caledonians, should they be subjected to so detestable a race; and shews, that valour was now the only means of their glory and safety. He next represents the Romans as far from being invincible, and the disadvantages they were under from their army being composed of different nations, and even Britons. "Every allurements of victory (concludes he) is for us; the Romans have no wives to enflame their courage; they have no parents to reproach their cowardice: most of them have no country, or another country than Rome. Their numbers are inconsiderable; they are now trembling through their own ignorance, and are casting their eyes upon strange seas and woods; while the gods seem to have delivered them over to us, as it were, pent up and fettered. Let not their vain shew frighten you, nor the glittering of their gold and silver, which are equally useless for defending themselves, or attacking others. We shall find friends even in the enemies army. The Britons will espouse their own cause; the Gauls will reflect upon their departed liberties; and the other Germans will, as the Usipians lately did, abandon them. There is then an end of all our fears. Their forts are empty, their colonies composed of old men, their lands and corporations at variance, being divided betwixt those who command with injustice, and obey with reluctance. Here you have a general and an army; their tributes and mines, with the other penalties of slavery; and upon this field, you are to determine whether you will chuse eternal submission, or immediate revenge; therefore advance to your ranks, and think upon your progenitors, and your posterity."

The speech of Agricola was that of a Roman general intent upon conquest alone. He encouraged his soldiers by pointing towards the enemy whom they had so often vanquished, and reminding them, that, by beating them again, all their toils and marches would be crowned with conquest and glory. This speech had all the effect he could desire. He then drew up his army in two lines; the first consisting of his auxiliary foot, with three thousand horse disposed as wings; the second formed by his legionary troops, the flower of his army, who he pretended ought not to be exposed to the swords of the barbarians without extreme necessity. In the beginning of the battle the Britons had the advantage by the dexterous management of their bucklers; but Agricola ordered three Batavian and two Tungrian cohorts, armed with short swords and embossed bucklers which terminated in a point, to charge the Caledonians, who were armed with long swords, that were useless in a close encounter. This seems to have been the great secret of the Roman art of war against all the people whom they stiled barbarians. The Caledonians were, in a manner, defenceless when their enemies got within the points of their swords, their little bucklers covering but a very small parts of their bodies. The most forward of their cavalry and charioteers fell back upon their infantry, and disordered the center; but the Britons endeavouring to out-flank their enemies, Agricola opposed them with his horse, and nothing then remained but confusion and dismay among the Caledonians, who, after losing great numbers, retreated to the woods, to which the Romans followed them at first with so little precaution, that the fugitives cut off many of the most forward; till Agricola forming his troops anew, ordered them to proceed more regularly, by which the Britons were disappointed in their hopes of attacking, and cutting them off, in separate parties. In this battle, which seems to have been fought near Fortingal-camp\*, about sixteen

\* Mr. Gordon offers very plausible reasons to prove, that the place of the battle was in Strathern, half a mile south from the Kirk of Comerie: for this, as he informs us, is upon or near a part of the ridge of the Gram-

miles from Dunkeld, the Caledonians are said to have lost ten thousand men; and the Romans, about three hundred and forty. It is surprizing, if we admit as true all that Tacitus says concerning this defeat, that it was no more decisive than it proved to be. Agricola, instead of putting a period to his labours, by conquering all Caledonia, was contented to retire to the country of the Horesti, which I apprehend to have been Fife-shire†; though it is generally supposed to have been Forfarshire. Here he accepted of hostages from part of the Caledonians. He then retreated southwards, by slow marches; and ordered part of his fleet (for it was necessary that

pian mountains; whereas no Roman camp has been discovered in Athol or Inverness, which looks as if Agricola had never gone so far, though there is a remarkable encampment here. The encampments Ardock and Innerpeffery are between the Grampian and Ochel mountains, and not large enough to contain the number of men which were in Galgacus's army. Tacitus says, the legionary soldiers were placed before the vallum; that is, as I suppose, the trench of their camp. The track of ground here, and the encampment and rising-ground about it, Mr. Gordon thinks, agrees surprizingly to Tacitus's description of it: and the moor in which this camp stands, is, as he affirms, called to this day Galgachan, or Galdachan Ross moor. But Tacitus's expressions seem to imply, that they were farther beyond the Tay than the place assigned by Mr. Gordon; and a very ingenious gentleman informed me of a place called Fortingal-camp, near which, he inclined to think, the place of battle might have been. He told me also, that he had seen the camp Gordon mentions; but could not learn the moor which was called Galgachan Ross moor. I am much of the opinion of a very curious gentleman who lives upon the spot, and is well skilled in the Highland tongue, that the true name is Dalgin Ross; that is, the dale under Ross, as he explained it. Ross is a village near to this vale, and near the Roman encampment. The country people sometimes pronounce the word Dalgin not unlike Galgin, which, very probably, has led Gordon into his opinion concerning this name. Fortingal-camp is about sixteen miles from Dunkeld. The middle syllable is, as I understand it, the sign of the genitive in the Highland tongue; and *gal* signifies a stranger: so that the word imports the fort of strangers; or, if *gal* be supposed the first syllable of Galgacus, then it is Galgacus's fort. I only farther add, that Gordon, in his account of his Galgacan camp, takes no notice, I think, of a stone that is in the middle of it, a tumulus nigh it, and a military way that goes from it: and, in computing its contents, omits the legions, as the four alæ, that were kept as a reserve; for the auxiliaries alone were eight thousand; and the horse, or the wings were three thousand. But the legions might possibly have been at Ardock, or Innerpeffery, before they marched to the battle.—See Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, p. 44.

† The lake Orra, or Horra, was known in the time of the Romans. Many remains of their encampments are seen yet near Lochore, or the lake Horra, in the county of Fife.



some ships should attend him with provisions) to sail round Britain, which they did, and found it to be an island; for, at the end of their voyage, they arrived at Queenborough, in England, from whence they had set sail.

Upon the whole, there is great reason to suspect that Tacitus has concealed some part of his hero's adventures during the campaign; otherwise his conduct is far from answering the character he gives him. A great commander, such as Gaius was represented to be, could not be ignorant of the superiority the Romans had over the Caledonians, however brave the latter might be in their own persons. It was therefore natural for him to instruct his troops to take all advantage of their enemies, by surprize or otherwise; but as soon as they found them regularly formed, that they should retreat, with the greatest expedition, to their well known fastnesses. It is not at all improbable, at the same time, that he might hope to check the progress of the Romans, to the north of the Grampians, where the finest counties of his dominions lay, by collecting his army into one body; but it is against common sense to believe, that had the defeat been so complete, and so bloody, as Tacitus has represented it, so able a commander and politician as Agricola, would not have persevered in his purpose, and completed his proposed conquest. Is it to be imagined, that such a leader, at the head of a Roman army, which consisted of above twenty thousand regulars, and one half of them legionary troops, would have spent seven campaigns, without receiving a single check, before they reached the foot of the Grampian mountains? or that thirty thousand, almost unarmed barbarians, could for a single hour, retard the progress of such a general and such an army. We may, therefore, venture to say, that some circumstances of those campaigns have not been transmitted in the narrative given us by the noble historian.

This is rendered almost evident by the fate of Agricola's forts, which he had constructed with so much labour and judgment; for no sooner did he return southwards, than they were abandoned, and the Caledonians demolished them. The

services of Agricola rendered him eminent at Rome; but raising the envy of his master Domitian, he was sent out of the world by a dose of poison. Agricola was succeeded in his government of Britain either by Caius Trebellius, or Sallustius Lucullus, whom the same tyrant put to death. In their lieutenantancies, the Caledonians made inroads upon the southern conquests of the Romans in Britain; but we are left in the dark as to the particulars, for very near thirty-five years. It is reasonable, however, to presume, from the general accounts that have come to our hands through the Roman historians, that Galgacus resumed his arms the moment he found Agricola retreating southwards. The southern Britons were not only subjected to the Romans, but fond of their chains, because they still enjoyed some appearances of their ancient government. The demolition, therefore, of the Roman forts undoubtedly was owing to Galgacus, or his successor; for we are told, he penetrated so far into the provinciated part of Britain, that he was joined by a few of the southern Britons who had been intirely subdued; that he invited their other countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke; and that he even made war upon them, because they refused to recover their liberty. All this may be gathered from the dark hints left us by the Roman historians themselves. Those of Scotland inform us, that Galgacus, after a triumphant reign, both over the Romans and the enslaved Britons, died gloriously in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, answering to year of Christ 103. We are here to observe, that the British word *gal*, or *wal*, without all doubt, signifies a stranger; and that Galdus (for so he is called by Tacitus) is only the Roman manner of writing the same word. This affords a strong presumption that Galdus was not, as some writers pretend, a Welch, or a Southern Briton, but a Caledonian; for the former could not have called their own countryman a stranger.

The brave Galgacus, or Galdus, was succeeded by his son LUCTACUS, who, degenerating from the virtues of his father, was put to death by his subjects, together with the worthless

ministers of his lewdness and tyranny. We find the Caledonians and Picts, at this time, to have been under separate governments; for MogoLD, the grandson of Calgacus by his daughter, having succeeded Luctacus, made a league with the king of the Picts, who is called Unipane. We have the authority of the Roman historians, particularly Spartian, for saying, that when this league (if any such ever existed) is supposed to have been formed, the Roman affairs in Britain were on the brink of ruin, which was prevented only by the indefatigable cares, and, at last, the personal arrival of the emperor Adrian. Soon after his accession he sent over to Britain the sixth legion; one of the finest in his service, which took its station in the North of England; and the second legion was quartered at or near Netherby, in Cumberland, which was then the northern frontier of the Roman part of the island: so that the Caledonians must have re-conquered from the Romans all that tract of ground which lay between Agricola's chain of forts and Carlisle on the west, and Newcastle, or Tinmouth-bar, on the east; which Adrian, upon his arrival, thought proper to fix as his northern boundary. They, probably, were assisted in their operations by the Picts, the Gallo-waymen, and other inhabitants of modern Scotland, who were not Caledonians. It is certain, that their progress alarmed Adrian so much, that no prince was ever at greater pains to discipline the army he brought over with him to Britain. All he could do was to force them to the northwards of the frontier I have already described, for which he assumed upon his coins, the title of *Restitutor Britanniae*, or the Recoverer of Britain. Arriving at York, he made dispositions for pursuing the plan of Agricola; but dropt it upon the representations of some of Agricola's old soldiers, concerning the difficulties attending it. He therefore contented himself with marking out a wall, which is called the Second Praetenture (Agricola's forts being the first) of Britain, and which ran from the mouth of the river Tine to the Solway Firth, about eighty miles, according to Spartian, quite across the island. As the description of this wall belongs more properly to the



history of England than Scotland, we shall only observe here, that it was built of turf, and intended to shut out the barbarians (for so the Caledonians and other unprovinciated Britons were called) from the southern part of the island: a work erected on principles betraying an ignorance equal to barbarism itself. The names of Rome and Adrian have silenced the censures of historians upon these insane constructions of praetentures; but surely, nothing could be more absurd than to think that a turf wall, seventy or eighty miles in length, could be manned by their legions, consisting of, at most, eighteen thousand men, which were all the troops the Romans then had in Britrin, so as to prevent an enemy from getting over any part of it; and indeed, Severus, one of Adrian's successors, seems to have been of the same opinion.

Mogold, at first, proved an excellent prince; and the Scotch historians tell us, that after his confederacy with the Picts, he gave the Romans a signal defeat, which was the reason of Adrian's passing over to Britain. This is by no means improbable; but we are unable to account for the sources from which the Scotch draw their information; as the pretended histories of Veremundus and Cambellus, mentioned by Boece, who is followed by Buchanan, and other writers are at best doubtful authorities. Notwithstanding this, and though we are not stench advocates for the line of Scotch kings between the first and second Fergus, yet no writer can safely assert, that the Scots, in early times, might not have had historical records which have been lost to their posterity. That the Southern Britons were acquainted with the Roman arts and learning, is past doubt; and why might they not transmit to after-ages the transactions of their own times, tho' their compositions are now lost? Neither is it absurd to suppose, that some of the Southern Britons mingled with their Northern brethren; and might have their pupils, whom they instructed in reading and writing. We are even inclined to think, that the absurdity lies in not admitting such a supposition, though the records cannot now be produced. But to return to our history.

Upon the departure of Adrian out of Britain, he left Julius Severus his *propraetor* in the island; but according to others, Priscus Licinius. Though Severus was one of the greatest captains of his age, yet we do not find that either he, or Priscus Licinius, carried their arms to the north of Adrian's *praetenture*. Mogold, therefore, lived in such security that he degenerated into a tyrant; and to supply his pleasures, made a law, "That the estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children." Buchanan is severe upon this tyrannical law, as he calls it; but the substance of it is in force in Great Britain, and the best regulated governments in Europe, to this day. It was, however, so displeasing to his noblemen, that they conspired together and murdered him. Antoninus Pius succeeded Adrian; and his *propraetor* in Britain was Lollius Urbicus.

The far greatest part of the Scotch historians inform us, that CONAR, who succeeded his father Mogold, was one of the conspirators against his life; and that the Southern Britons, passing Adrian's wall, laid waste Conar's territories; who, uniting with the Picts drove them southwards, and fought a bloody battle with them and the Romans, which weakened both sides so much, that they agreed to a truce for a year. Before the war expired, the *propraetor* saw how useless Adrian's *praetenture* was; yet we are told, he repaired it. The Scotch historians are countenanced by the Roman, in their history of this period; for they assert, that Conar and the Picts were joined by the Brigantes, or the inhabitants of Yorkshire; and that they invaded Genunia, or North Wales, where they were defeated by Urbicus, who pursued his victory, and drove the North Britons to the northward of Agricola's *praetenture*. We have already observed, that this consisted of a chain of forts, which was a stronger frontier than a long ineffectual turf wall. Lollius Urbicus finding many of those forts standing, repaired and joined them together by turf walls, guarded by mounds and ditches; some parts of which are still visible. The whole was thus fortified

by a series of stations, or forts, and certainly reached from Carron, upon the Frith of Forth, to Dunclas, upon the Frith of Clyde; running by Falkirk, Camelon, Dick's-house, Rough-castlefort, Castlecary's-fort, Westerwood-fort, Crowy-hill, Barnhill-fort, Achindavy, Kirkentelloch, Calder, Bemulie, New-kirkpatrick, Castle-hill, Duntocher, and Old-Kirkpatrick; the whole being some what more than thirty-seven English miles in length. The foundation was stone, and it had conduits, which at once kept it dry, and supplied the ditch that accompanied it with water. The thickness of the wall, which inclined towards the north, and was, as much as possible, carried along the brows of eminences, was about four yards. It probably had its exploratory mounts, and the ditch was larger than that which afterwards accompanied the wall of Severus. The main agger, or rampart, lay on the south side; and on the south of that ran a large well-paved military way, which never leaves the wall above a hundred and forty yards. We learn from the inscriptions on this wall, which are still extant, that the whole of the legion called *Secunda Augusta*, and the vexillations of the twentieth and the sixth legions, were employed in completing this preatenture; which, according to the same inscriptions, extended to thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-six paces. It was built while Antoninus Pius was the third time consul, answering to the year of Christ 140. Its design was to prevent the communication of the Caledonians and the Piets with the Brigantes; but though much better calculated for that purpose, because of its small extent, than that of Adrian, yet it was ineffectual against the Northern Britons. It confined them indeed, for some time; and the exploits of Urbicus procured for Antoninus, though he never was in Britain, the epithet of Britannicus. Before we take leave of Antoninus Pius, we cannot help expressing our amazement, that so excellent a writer as Buchanan should not mention the wall of Urbicus; who, he says, only repaired that of Adrian.

As to Conar, having degenerated into a tyrant, and wanting to oppress his subjects by taxes, they shut him up in prison



where he died of grief, in the fourteenth year of his reign. On his death Argad, said to have been prince of Argyleshire, was chosen regent, who proved, at first, an excellent justiciary; but afterwards disoblged the subjects by marrying a Pictish princess, and fomenting dissensions among the nobles, which raised a suspicion that he intended to seize upon the crown. Being accused in a public assembly of the states of those practices, he confessed his guilt; but by humbling himself before the people, he obtained his pardon, and was continued in the government, which he executed with great virtue and ability; till Ethod, nephew to Mogold, mounted the throne.

We have few authorities to direct us in our account of this prince, besides the Scotch historians, excepting the writer of the life of Marcus Antoninus, who was then the Roman emperor; from which it appears, that the British wars again breaking out, he sent over, as his lieutenant, Calphurnius Agricola. In the mean time, Argad was continued as general and prime minister; but was killed in an expedition against the inhabitants of the Ebudae islands, who, we are told, were assisted by the Picts and Irish; and were in their turn, subdued by Ethod in person, who hanged two hundred of their ring-leaders. After this, Ethod applied himself to the administration of justice all over his kingdom. Boece, in this king's reign, has taken notice of many particulars which, though far from being improbable, are entirely omitted by Buchanan. According to Boece, Victorinus, a Roman general, or propraetor, invaded the dominions of the Scots and Picts, who were united by their common interest; and Ethod having in vain demanded reparation, a battle was fought, which weakened both parties so much, that they were at peace for a whole year. Then Calphurnius Agricola took the command, who proved a successful general, and obliged the northern Britons to keep within the praetenture of Urbicus. Commodus, who succeeded Antoninus in the Roman empire, recalled Calphurnius Agricola; upon which, a fierce war, and more dangerous to the Romans than any of the preceding, broke out in Britain. The Britons penetrated the Roman walls, and put all

who resisted them to the sword; but they were soon checked by Marcellus Ulpian, a general of consummate abilities, sent against them by Commodus. That tyrant hated Ulpian for his virtues; and upon his being recalled, the Roman discipline in Britain suffered a vast relaxation. As to Ethod, there is nothing improbable in what the Scotch writers tell us, that he took all advantages against the Romans, and was at last assassinated by a musician, who, in all northern courts, were formerly in high esteem, and admitted to be of the king's bed-chamber.

Ethod was succeeded by his brother SATRAHEL, his own sons being under age. Satrahel proved a tyrant; endeavoured to establish the crown in his own family; and was assassinated by one of his domestics in the fourth year of his reign, and of Christ 197.

By this time a total alteration took place in the military government of the Romans in Britain. Perennis, first minister to the emperor Commodus, had persuaded his master to give the command of his British armies to knights, instead of senators. History is silent as to the motives of this measure; but it probably was in consideration of sums advanced for the support of the emperor's pleasures (the knights being the moneyed men of Rome) for which they were to indemnify themselves by peculation. It is certain, however, the Roman soldiers in Britain mutinied under this innovation; and their discontents rose so high, that the army deputed fifteen hundred of their number to carry their complaints, and lay them before Commodus in person at Rome. The emperor met the deputies without the gates, and they accused Perennis of aspiring to place his son upon the imperial throne. Commodus, upon this, seeming to believe them, gave up Perennis, whom he had now begun to hate, to the soldiers, who put him to death. The mutiny still continued, through the vast relaxation of discipline that prevailed among the troops. The soldiers even talked of electing a new emperor, and named Pertinax to the purple. He was a brave general, and at that time commanded an army against the Parthians. Commodus however, was

so fully convinced by his honour, that he acted in a manner very uncommon with tyrants; for, to secure the fidelity of Pertinax, he ordered him to pass over to Britain, and there to take the command of the Roman army, Pertinax obeyed; and, upon his arrival, the troops acclaimed him emperor. He declined the honour with so much resolution, that the soldiers, thinking they could now have no safety but in his excepting it, proceeded to force, and Pertinax was wounded in the tumult. Perceiving, after this, that it was in vain for him to think of retrieving military discipline among such troops, he desired to be recalled. Clodius Albinus, a person of great reputation, and descended from the antient Posthumi, was next sent by Commodus to command in Britain. The reader is to understand that Scotland, or rather the northern neighbourhood of the praetenture of Urbicus, seems to have been the scene of action at this time in Britain. The southern parts were not only provinciated, but governed by their native kings, who reigned as viceroys to the Romans, and generally were so firm to their interest, that they had nothing to apprehend from the inhabitants. The Romans were even so indulgent to the provinciated Britons, that they tolerated Christianity in the island, as appears from the history and coins of Lucius, a British Christian king. This was long before we have any certainty of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland, where the inhabitants, or at least the bulk of them, still continued brave independent Pagans, and kept the Roman soldiery in perpetual alarms.

Albinus was a man of such high rank and consideration, that he declined the honour of being nominated Caesar, or heir-apparent to the empire, by Commodus. This he did, partly upon prudential, and partly upon republican principles, as he thought that the imperial purple would dishonour a descent of the Posthumi. He seems to have succeeded in re-settling the military discipline; but upon a false report of the emperor's death being spread, he harangued the soldiers to abolish the imperial tyranny, and to return to their old form of government under consuls. At the same time, he informed them



that he had been offered the honour of being nominated Caesar, which he had rejected with disdain. Though this speech came to the emperor's ears, yet his authority was at that time too weak in Britain to resent it : and there is some reason to believe, that he continued in a kind of independent command of the Roman army in Britain, till the death of Commodus, who was succeeded by Pertinax. The licentiousness of the Roman soldiery had always rendered them at variance with the senate, whose severity they dreaded, but whose authority was resolutely supported by Albinus. The senators had conceived the highest expectation from his abilities and virtues, and even addressed Pertinax to make him his partner in the empire. Pertinax hated Albinus, and had a little time before published a kind of circular letter, sent, or intended to be sent, by Commodus, to all his governors of provinces, accusing Albinus of courting the senate from motives of ambition. This publication was intended to ruin Albinus with the troops; but he prevented his fate by persuading Didius Julianus to murder Pertinax, and to raise himself to the imperial throne. Julianus depended chiefly on the friendship of Albinus for preserving the government of Britain, and was succeeded by Septimius Severus, who found a competitor in the person of Pescennius Niger, whom he soon dispatched.

Albinus seems, by this time, to have been so much intoxicated with the great credit and reputation he had acquired, as to have defied the imperial power. Severus, who knew his principles, at once hated and dreaded him ; but carried his dissimulation so far as to associate him with himself in the empire, a dignity, which, though inconsistent with his former principles, Albinus thought proper to accept. Upon the defeat and death of Pescennius Niger, there was no farther room for dissimulation in Severus ; and we are told, that he sent murderers into Britain to dispatch Albinus, who discovering this wicked intention from the confession of the assassins under torture, immediately declared himself emperor. Understanding that Severus was marching against him, he shook off his indolence, and passed over to the continent of Europe, at the head of

fifty thousand men, whom the histories of that time, indiscriminately, call Britons. Being met by Severus with an army of equal numbers, a most terrible battle ensued near Lyons, in France. The Britons, at first, had the advantage, and Severus saved himself by throwing away his diadem and imperial robes. He, however, rallied his men, and being supported by Laetus, one of his generals, the battle was renewed, when victory declared for Severus; on which Albinus put himself to death.

The king whom the Scotch historians have assigned to their country during those important transactions, is called DONALD the first. He was brother to Ethod and Satrahel; and is recorded as a prince of merit, both civil and military. The Roman historians, at this period, give great countenance to those of Scotland. It is certain, that during the absence of Albinus, the Caledonians had made a very dreadful impression upon the Roman empire in Britain; and that they had driven the masters of the world even beyond Adrian's praetenture. Severus, tho' sixty years of age, and full of infirmities, ordered Virius Lupus to act as his proprætor in the northern parts of Britain. Lupus found the Romans so disorderly and dispirited, and their affairs so desperate, that he was obliged to inform Severus that nothing but his own presence could retrieve them. Donald, or whoever was the prince of the Caledonians at that time, had encouraged the Meatae (for so Xiphilin calls the Britons who lived between the two praetentures) to take arms against the Romans; so that Severus was apprehensive of losing all Britain. Upon his arrival there with his army, which was far superior to any the Romans ever had in the islands, he immediately marched northwards towards Adrian's wall. It is in vain for the Caledonians and their allies, who knew they were no match for his numerous and well disciplined troops, to endeavour, by their deputies, to deprecate his wrath; for he still proceeded northwards, and rejected all terms of accommodation. He repaired the roads, and removed all obstructions to his march; but he found the Caledonians a more dangerous enemy than he had expected. They were armed with a

little shield and spear, and a sword depending from their naked bodies, which were painted with figures of animals. Their dispositions were warlike, their persons hardened by fatigue; they could swim most rapid floods, and undergo the most difficult marches. They followed the maxims of Cassibelan, the brave British prince who opposed the dictator. They attacked the Romans by surprizes, and detached parties; they laid baits of cattle and provisions, that they might cut off the stragglers from their main body; but carefully avoided coming to any pitched action. By this method of fighting the Roman soldiers were perpetually engaged in skirmishes, and so much distressed in their march, that they desired each other to put an end to their lives. The reader may form some idea of the original numbers of the Roman army, when he is told, from undoubted authority, that though Severus lost fifty thousand men in his march, he was still in a condition to proceed.

The event of this expedition is not very clear. Admitting, with Xiphilin, that he forced the Caledonians and their allies to a peace, yet that was no more than they had offered him when he first landed on the island. Herodian makes no mention of the peace. Xiphilin tells us, indeed, that he was carried in a sedan to the extremities of the island; and that he obliged the natives to cede to him some part of their country. The former circumstance may be a fact, because, as we have already seen, the Caledonians never ventured to oppose him in a pitched battle, and undoubtedly the difficulties and distresses of his army must have encreased as he advanced northwards. It is likewise very possible, that he recovered to his subjection the country of the Meatae between the two praetentures, or, rather, that he dispossessed the enemy of all that they held south of Adrian's wall; but it scarcely can admit of a doubt that he performed nothing worthy his great preparations, and almost incredible losses he sustained. It is during this march that Buchanan has fixed the building of the celebrated Roman temple, which, he supposes, was dedicated to the god **TERMINUS**, on the banks of the river Carron. That it was a



Roman work, there is no reason to doubt; but some antiquaries, with great probability, think it was erected by Agricola; and some believe it to be a mausoleum, such as that erected to the memory of Caecillia Metella, at Rome. This noble monument of antiquity was demolished in 1742 by a more than Gothic knight, in order to repair a mill-dam with its stones.

Upon the return of Severus southward, he saw the necessity of raising a stronger barrier against the invasions of the Caledonians than the praetentures either of Antoninus or Adrian; and he accordingly built a wall which has the same direction with that of Adrian, but extended farther at each end. The description of this wall shews that it was intended by the founder as a regular military fortification: but the reader, the notes, will find a confutation of Buchanan's opinion that it was erected between the Friths of Forth and Clyde\*. The men-

\* Having described the other praetentures, I shall likewise give some account of this. Notwithstanding what has been said by some eminent writers, it is certain this wall was quite different from that of Adrian, though, in the main, it ran near the same ground; but, according to Mr. Horsley's account, it extended farther at each end than Adrian's. It has, all along on the south, a paved military way, though not always running parallel, in breadth about seventeen foot, and sometimes coincides with Adrian's north agger; but where the latter is too distant or inconvenient, it proceeds separately. Mr. Horsley believes there might have been likewise a smaller military way, for the convenience of small parties passing from one turret to another. This was also a large ditch at the north; but there is no direct proof that ever an agger belonged to it. It had castella, or towers placed upon it at proper distances, generally less than a mile one from another. These, excepting one, which was perhaps older than the wall, were sixty-six foot square; the wall itself forming the north side of each. It likewise had turrets, probably four betwixt every two castella, at the distance of three hundred and eighteen yards from each other; which, by the few remains of them, appear to have been four yards square at the bottom. Thus the centinels placed upon them, being within call of each other, a ready communication was kept up through the whole extent of the wall. Upon, or near, this wall were seventeen forts or stations, each considerably larger than the castella: these stood at uncertain distances one from another; and were thickest and strongest at the two extremities, and in the middle. The wall was generally on the top of high ground, both for strength and prospect; often built in places, through which it would have been impracticable to have carried Aelian's vallum; and extends, in the whole, sixty-eight miles one hundred and sixty-nine paces. The thickness of it appears not to have been every where equal; sometimes it measures seven foot four inches at the foundation; but where the sea water has come up to it, as at

tion of this wall makes it likewise probable, that all the cessions of territory made by the Caledonians and the Meatae, consisted of lands to the south of Adrian's wall; and that he meant it as the barrier of his empire in Britain, seems to be plain, from his giving to his officers and soldiers the Meatian lands in the neighbourhood, to be held by a kind of military tenure, that they might protect their own possessions. We shall not

Boulness, nine foot. The wall itself was built of free-stone; the stones in the heart of it being broad and thin, set edge-ways, and cemented by pouring upon them liquid mortar. The foundation sometimes is strengthened with oaken piles. The breadth and depth of its ditch is uncertain; but seem to have been about ten foot deep, and twelve foot or more over. The whole was begun at Segedunum, or Confin-house on the Tine, and carried westward to Timocelum or Boulness. This wall is neither mentioned by Xiphilin nor Herodian, though the former mentions that the Meatae dwelt near the wall which divides the island into two parts. It is, however, mentioned by Spartian in the following word: "Arabos in deditionem accepit. Adiabenos in tributarios coegit. Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad sinum oceani; unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit." "He received the submission of the Arabians; he compelled the Adiabeni to become tributary; and fortified Britain (which is the greatest glory of his reign) with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea; where also he took the name of Britannicus." And Aurelius Victor says, "Ob hæc tanta Arabicum, Adiabenicum, et Parthici, cognomina paties dixere. His majora aggressus, Britanniam quæ ad ea utilis erat, pulsis hostibus muro munivit, per transversam insulam ducto utrinque ad sinem oceani." "For these great exploits, the senate complimented him with the surnames Arabicus, Adiabenicus, and Parthicus. He still proceeding to greater things, repelled the enemy in Britain, and fortified the country, which was suited to that purpose, with a wall drawn cross the island from sea to sea." The same author, in an abridgement, makes the extent of this wall to be but thirty-two miles, as Eutropius makes it only thirty-five. "But as to that abridgement of the Roman history, under the name of Aurelius Victor (says Mr. Innes in his Critical Essay) the author is uncertain, as well as the time he lived in; and the genuine and undoubted work of Aurelius Victor, as we shall see presently, gives much the same account of Severus's wall as Spartian; that it was bounded on each side by the ocean, without any farther account of its dimensions. As to Eutropius, though the vulgar editions give but thirty-two miles to Severus's wall, there is just ground to believe, that the ancient copies had a C or L before the numerical letters XXXII; since St. Hierome, near Eutropius's time, who follows him, hath CXXXII. Orosius, about the same time, gives the same dimension; and, after them, Cassiodorus, Ado, Nennius, and others, who give all CXXXII miles to Severus's wall: in which it is highly probable, that the numerical letter L hath been, by error of the translator, altered into that of C, these two letters being easily confounded in ancient MSS. and there being no place in Britain that hath CXXXII miles of breadth; which have apparently given occasion to critics to cut off the C in Eutropius, whereas there is no likelihood of St. Hierome's adding C to the number he found in Eutropius.

however presume to affirm, that some of those lands did not lie in the country of the Meatae, between the praetentures. From the words of Spartian, a Roman historian, we are inclined to think that Severus erected this wall, while he was at peace with the Caledonians.

It is certain, that, notwithstanding the vigour of his mind still subsisted, he was now disabled by age and infirmities; and that he committed the carrying on the wall, and his other great works, to his worthless son Antoninus, afterwards better known by the name of the emperor Caracalla, who had more than once attempted his life; and for the same reason he was obliged to relinquish to him the command of the army.

The brutality of Antoninus was such, that the Caledonians and the Meatae again took arms, and the old emperor was once more called to the field. Being carried in a sedan to the camp, he was so exasperated with his renewal of hostilities, that he gave directions to his soldiers from a verse of Homer, "that they should not spare even the child in the mother's belly." Notwithstanding this, we are intirely ignorant of the consequence; whether the emperor continued in the field, or left the prosecution of his revenge to one of his sons. It is even uncertain whether any hostilities followed, and whether the emperor did not chuse to conclude a peace; for he died soon after, and boasted upon his death-bed, that he had left Britain in tranquility. His greatest ambition was to deserve, and obtain, the name of Britannicus, which both he and his son Geta assumed; but the father took the additional title of Major.

Before we close the history of Severus, we must mention the interview between the empress Julia and the wife of a Caledonian chief Argentocoxus. The British lady was among her other countrywomen of quality, who, after the conclusion of the peace, paid a visit to the Roman camp, where she was entertained by the empress for some time; till growing familiar, the latter upbraided the British ladies, because, though married, they abandoned themselves to the embraces of several men. "It is true (replied the sprightly CALEDONIAN)



we are proud to please men of merit; and we commit avowedly with the bravest of our countrymen, what the Roman ladies act in corners with the meanest and most scandalous of theirs."

We have this story from Xiphilin, who takes it from Dio, and therefore we can scarcely question its credibility; but it leads to some reflections. If the two ladies conversed together without an interpreter, it is highly probable that the Caledonian understood the Latin language, unless we are to suppose that the Roman understood the Gaelic or Caledonian. In either case, we must conclude that there was a very considerable intercourse between the two people. Our next observation is, that the word *Argentocoxus*, or Silver-hip, is evidently of Roman coinage; and very possibly alludes to a silver sword-belt worn by the Caledonian. Had Xiphilin or Dio known the Caledonian name of the chief, it might have thrown some light on the history of Scotland at this period; and it is surprising, that the manufacturers of the history of the first forty kings, who certainly were well acquainted with this anecdote (if the whole of the work was a forgery) did not avail themselves of it, to coin a name somewhat similar to the Roman term. The third, and chief observation we shall make, is upon the indecency and prostitution of the Caledonian ladies. We cannot, however, see with what consistency a princess of a people whose patriots and philosophers used to lend their wives to each other, and then take them back, could upbraid a British lady with the want of delicacy in her armours. If we examine the customs of other nations, who were far from being barbarous, the antient Egyptians, for instance, the Athenians, and the Spartans, we shall find, in matters of concubinage, usages as gross as that with which our Caledonian is reproached. The truth is \*, there was a community of wives among the antient Britons, but of a very singular kind; for it was confined to small circles of friends and acquaintances. Ten or twelve men, perhaps, espoused each of them a

\* See Sir William Temple's introduction to the Hist. of England.

virgin, and after cohabitation, every one of their wives was at his friend's service; but the issue was always regarded as belonging to the man who originally married the mother. That this custom was barbarous, we shall not dispute; but the Britons, perhaps, thought (as Sir William temple says) "that by such a custom they avoided the common mischiefs of jealousy; the injuries of adultery; the confinement of single marriages; the luxury and expence of many wives or concubines; and the partiality of parents in the education of all their own children: all which are considerations that have fallen under the care of many law-givers."

Though DONALD the first, the prince I now treat of, is supposed to have been the first CHRISTIAN king of Scotland, or rather Caledonia, yet it scarcely admits of a doubt, that Christianity, before his time, had penetrated into that country. Tertullian, who wrote about the year 209, plainly asserts, that christianity had subdued those places in Britain that were inaccessible to the Roman arms. We shall not however pretend, that christianity was then the national religion of the Caledonians. From the story we have just now related we may infer the contrary; we must notwithstanding observe, that many people who actually embraced Christianity both in Europe and Asia, for some centuries after its introduction, retained many of their Pagan usages, especially with regard to marriage and concubinage. One of the compliments paid by Martial to Claudia Rufina, a British lady and a christian, was his wishing she might be always happy in one husband. \* As to Donald himself, we know little more of him than that he died in peace, according to the old historians, about the year 216.

\* Ut conjuge gaudeat uno.

## C H A P. VII.

*Of the Scots kings from the death of DONALD the first, to the beginning of the reign of FERGUS the second, comprehending from the year of our Lord 216 to 404 years after the incarnation.*

**D**ONALD was succeeded by ETHOD II. second son of Ethod the first, who being a prince of narrow abilities, at the desire of his subjects, for the better distribution of justice, constituted lieutenants through the different provinces of his dominions. We know little of the Roman affairs in Britain during the supposed reign of this prince, which is said to have been tranquil, and to have lasted for twenty-one years, when he was killed as he was endeavouring to appease a tumult among his subjects.

The subsequent account given by the Scottish writers is consistent with the Roman historians. Severus was succeeded by Caracalla and Geta, who, after ratifying the peace with the Caledonians, returned to Rome about the year 211. The Roman historians are silent as to the affairs of Britain till the year 259. Some inscriptions, however, dug up near the praetentures have preserved the names of certain of their prefects who succeeded Virius Lupus. Maecilius Fuscus, about the year 248, repaired the barracks and arsenals, which had fallen into decay. Cneius Lucilianus, about the year 240, built a bath, with an exchange or portico; and Nonius Philippus was the Roman propraetor or legate in Britain, about two years after. The history of the Southern parts of Britain, written by the famous Geoffrey of Monmouth, has supplied this chasm in history with the imaginary exploits of one Fulgentius, who, he says, was consul of the Albanian Britons, and descended from one of their antient kings. Fordun has adopted Geoffrey's fables, concerning this Fulgentius, and makes Severus drive him into Scotland, meaning, we suppose, Scythia; from whence he returned by sea with an army of



Scots and Picts, besieged York, and killed Severus. Dr. Stillfleet, an eminent English antiquary, has reproached our old historian Fordun for having been misled in following this fable of Geoffrey. The right reverend author, however, ought to have mentioned, that though Fordun does indeed lay before his readers Geoffrey's narrative, yet he gives them at the same time that of the venerable Bede, which is agreeable to the truth of history; and that when Fordun mentions the emperor Bassianus being killed by Carausius, which is another of Geoffrey's abominable fictions, he does it with a mark of reprobation, and alledges very sound reasons for his adhering to the Roman historian. Hector Boece is more excusable in building upon Geoffrey's foundation.

Upon the whole, we think it indisputable, that during this long interval after the death of Severus, the Romans remained to the south of Adrian's praetenture; though very possibly they might have a few exploratory towers on its north. We may, therefore, very fairly presume that the Caledonians, and their allies the Meatae, had frequent intercourses with their Roman neighbours. As to the story of Fulgentius, tho' the whole of it is evidently forged by Geoffrey; yet there is sufficient reason for believing, that the war between the Romans on the one part, under Severus, and the Caledonians, Meatae, and Picts, on the other, might be full of very interesting events and adventures, though they are suppressed by the Roman historians, perhaps for the honour of their own country.

Under Publius Licinius Gallienus, Porphyry, the Roman philosopher, termed Britain a land fruitful in tyrants; and we are told that no fewer than thirty at one time claimed the imperial purple. The names of some of them appear still upon their coins, which have been found in the southern parts of Britain; but we know not whether any laid claim to Caledonia. In 276 Proculus and Bonosus claimed Britain, Spain, and Gaul; But they were defeated by the emperor Probus, neither does it appear that the Caledonians had any concern in these disputes.

Ethod the second was succeeded by his son **ATHIRCO**; who, proving a tyrant, was defeated and pursued by his subjects; and, fearing to fall into their hands, put himself to death. **NATHALOCUS**, whose daughters Athirco is said to have deflowered, headed this insurrection, and usurped the throne; but **Dorus**, Athirco's brother, fled with his three nephews, **Findoc**, **Carantius**, and **Donald**, to the court of the king of the **Picts**. Notwithstanding the air of romance which infects the Scotch history at this period, we have no reason to doubt that such a Pictish king then existed; and as it is probable that the **Picts**, who were descendants of the southern Britons, and the **Caledonians**, might live under separate governments, and because we know for a certainty, that the Pictish kingdom flourished many years after this date. **Nathalocus** having sent assassins to dispatch **Dorus** and his nephews, they killed a **Pict**, by a mistake, for **Dorus**. **Nathalocus** having missed his aim, and perceiving that **Dorus** had a strong party in his kingdom, ordered all the noblemen whom he thought to be in the royal interest, to be strangled. This cruelty produced an insurrection; and the usurper, according to the manner of the times, sent to **Colmkiln**, the famous **Jona** of the antients, to consult a woman who was reputed to be a weird sister, about his fate. She told him that the king was to be short-lived; but that he would fall by the hand not of an enemy but a domestic. The messenger demanding the name of the assassin, "Thou art the man," replied the weird sister. Her declaration determined him to the act; which, upon his return, he perpetrated for his own safety. The name of this domestic is said to have been **Murray**; and the story is far more probable than many others of the same kind we meet with in the later ages, and among the most polite people.

**Findoc**, Athirco's eldest son, received intelligence of the tyrant's fate from **Murray** himself, and was immediately proclaimed king. He possessed all the perfections of body and mind; and subdued the islanders, who, under **Donald** their chieftain, attempted to revenge the death of **Nathalocus**. Another **Donald**, son of the former, who was drowned, being

driven into Ireland, received, afterwards, Findoc's pardon; and returning home, he sent two ruffians, who gained the ear of Garantius the king's brother, and his permission to assassinate the king, which they accordingly did while he was hunting: but they were overtaken and put to death, and Carantius took refuge among the Romans. We think it necessary to inform our readers, that all these facts are omitted by the historian Fordun, though related by Boece and Buchanan.

DONALD, the youngest of Athirco's sons, being raised to the throne, was, in the first year of his reign, defeated and killed by DONALD of the isles; who, thereupon, usurped the crown, but was defeated and killed by CRATHILINTH, the son of Findoc. This prince, after his accession, proved a strict justiciary, and renewed his family-leagues with the Picts. A trifling accident at an hunting-match is, however, said, to have cost the lives of three thousand of his own subjects, and two thousand of the Picts: upon which hostilities commenced between the two nations. About this time, the famous Carausius appeared. It must be acknowledged, to the reproach of literature, that notwithstanding all the pains taken by Dr. Stukely, and other antiquaries, to clear up the history of this British emperor (for such he certainly was) it still remains obscure; and we are likewise to observe, that about the time we now treat of, the name of the Caledonians began to wear out among the Romans, who substituted that of Picts in its room. We must, notwithstanding, be of opinion, that they lived under distinct governments; and in this we are countenanced by the earliest records. The uncertainty of the history of Carausius proved too great a temptation for Boece to resist, and accordingly he makes him the same person with the exiled Galedonian prince Carantius. It is certain that Carausius, who is said to have been by birth a Menapian, had about this time begun to make a great figure at sea. The emperor Probus had carried over to Britain, large colonies of Vandals and Burgundians, to whom he had assigned land there. The Roman p̄fect, whom some call Laelianus, and some Saturnius, at this time, assumed the imperial purple: but was



soon crushed by Victorinus, the imperial general; and Britain experienced a succession of tyrants, till Dioclesian and Maximian were raised to the empire. About the time of their accession, the coasts of Gaul and Britain were swarming with Saxon, or German, free-booters; and the charge of suppressing them was committed to Carausius, who winked at their frequent descents, that he might take their ships when returning home full of booty, which he entirely appropriated to his own use. His practices, in short, became so glaring, that he was sentenced to be put to death. To avoid this fate, he assumed the imperial purple, and carried his fleet to Britain, where the Roman army submitted to his authority. Thus far history is clear as to Carausius; nor do we see any absurdity in supposing, that after his landing, he entered into a treaty with the Picts and Caledonians, especially as Maximian was then at sea with a fleet and army to suppress him; but there can be no foundation for saying, with some writers, that he assigned Scotland to the Picts for the assistance they gave him.

Maximian, perceiving that Carausius was too strong to be subdued, agreed to a treaty which left him in full possession of the sovereignty of the provinciated Britain, as appears by many undoubted medals, and other monuments, in the cabinets of the curious, where Carausius is represented as Augustus or emperor. He reigned as such for seven years; and was likewise in possession of Gessoriacum, now called Boulogne, by which he had the command both of the Armoric and the British coasts. He is said to have repaired, or rather rebuilt, the wall of Antoninus, or Urbicus, between the friths of Forth and Clyde, in the year 289; and we are told, that he had an interview with Crathilinth (whom the Scotch historians call his nephew) near the river Carron. There is reason for believing that he repaired part of the wall of Severus, though, in reality, we know little of this true history besides what is to be found on coins and medals; but these prove him to have been one of the most illustrious personages of that age. It is an undoubted fact, that Constantius, Caesar to Maximian, was the only general of the age, thought to be a match

for Carausius; and that the fleet of the latter was composed of sailors from all nations, who, according to the Roman historians, were paid by the plunder of the neighbouring countries.

This drew on a war between Carausius and the Roman empire; and Constantius besieged Gessoriacum, which was very strongly fortified. The death of the emperor is one of the most obscure events in history. It is said, that when Constantius laid siege to Gessoriacum, or Boulogne, Carausius was murdered by Aleetus, one of his general officers, who succeeded him in the empire of Britain, and reigned three years. If this account can be depended upon, we may presume that Aleetus was suborned to the assassination by the Romans, who were at that time far from being delicate in such cases. The history of Aleetus is equally obscure and uncertain with that of Carausius, and, as related by the Roman historians, inconsistent with their own chronology. Constantius undoubtedly landed in Britain, and burnt his ships, to take from his soldiers all hopes of return without victory. Aleetus had by this time become unpopular among the Britons; his fleet, after the landing of the Romans, was of no farther service to him for preventing an invasion; and he was defeated and killed by Asclepiodotus, a general officer under Constantius. The rest of the history of Constantius, at that time, is foreign to this work.

Upon the division of the empire between the two Caesars, after the resignations of Dioclesian and Maximian, Britain fell to the lot of Constantius. It is highly probable that Carausius was so far from being a free-booter, as he is represented by the Roman historians, that he introduced several arts among the Britons, by means of the Franks, and other foreigners, whom he took into his pay; because Constantius, at the time of his accession, found Britain so much improved, that he made it the seat of empire, and is said to have taken a British lady, the famous Helena, to be the partner of his bed. What the situation of the Caledonians and Picts was during the reigns of Carausius and Aleetus, it is uncertain; but there

is great reason to believe, that they had extended themselves to the southward of Adrian's praetenture. It is more than probable, that Constantius undertook an expedition against them; but we are ignorant of its particulars, except that he reinforced the garrisons upon the frontiers \*, and then established a general peace. Thus we may presume, that the Caledonians and Picts were in possession of all the country of the Meatae; unless (which is highly improbable) the garrisons mentioned by Eusebius were those belonging to the praetenture of Urbicus. The peace between him and the Caledonians was some what disturbed upon the arrival of his son Constantine at York, which happened but a short time before the death of Constantius. The first care of Constantine, after his accession to his father's empire, was to repel the inroads of the Caledonians; but, contrary to the maxims of the preceding emperors (his father in particular) he withdrew the Roman garrisons from the frontiers. We have already given our opinion, which is confirmed by events, that the Roman praetentures were huge magnificent erections, but never proved of any effectual service against the Caledonians and Picts: it is however probable, that Constantine still left one or two garrisons upon the Frontiers. He certainly added to the three divisions of Southern Britain, that of the Maxima Caesariensis. According to some antiquaries, this division included, besides the northern counties of England, the whole country of the Meatae; and if so, the praetenture of Antoninus, or Urbicus, must have been the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain, towards the north, at the time of Constantine's death: but we know of no medals, inscriptions, or stones, relating to Constantine, which confirm this conjecture: though we are far from affirming that such may not have been discovered. During those transactions Crathilinth died, after a reign of twenty-four years, about the year 313.

The history of Scotland, at this period, is again corroborated by the Roman and foreign writers. We have no reason

\* See Eusebius.



to doubt, that, during Dioclesian's persecution, great numbers of Christians took refuge among the Caledonians and Picts; and that, before that times, the Scots were actually settled in Britain. Historians and antiquaries have given themselves great trouble concerning the origin of the name of the Scots, and the country from whence they came. I think the enquiry is not deserving the pages it has employed; and that the dispute has hitherto been mis-stated. I have no manner of difficulty in admitting with bishop Stillingfleet, and the most rational antiquaries, that the word *Scot* is no other than the word *Scyt*, or *Scythian*, the native country of many people. I am, however, of opinion, that they quitted (but at what period, we are entirely ignorant) their original seats in several bands, and at several times; that they marched, or sailed, in separate bodies, into various countries (for that the northern nations had then a rude navigation is unquestionable;) that wherever they went they were called Scots, or Scyts; that their chief settlements were in Spain and Ireland; and that considerable bodies of them landed on the western coasts of Scotland: but I see no reason for believing, that they were sent over thither from Ireland. It is, on the contrary, highly probable that the Irish coasts, immediately opposite to Scotland, were peopled from thence by the Guydhels, or whoever were the old inhabitants of those parts, for this plain and natural reason, because the country of Ireland is, there, a far more inviting soil, than the opposite coasts of Scotland \*. Add to this, that Carrickfergus in Ireland, may be easily seen from Scotland; that a small boat can row over to it in three or four hours; and consequently, that it has been always accessible to the rudest navigation. Such, abstracted from the wild dreams of the Scotch writers concerning Gathaelus and Scota, a daughter of Pharaoh, is the most probable account of the origin of the Scots, and the best adapted to remove their difficulties which occur among antiquaries and old historians. As to the arguments drawn from a simi-

\* See Sir William Petty's Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 103. London Edit. 1691.

liarity of languages, they prove nothing more than that the language of all those antient nations was the same, that is, Celtic; and that their words, to this day, retain an affinity; but of this matter we have already treated.

Upon the whole, we are warranted in supposing, that the country now called Scotland, at that time I treat of, was inhabited by different nations; that the Caledonians were the aboriginal natives; that the Guydhelians were the descendents of the old Britons, whom the Belgic Britons forced northwards before the descent of Julius Caesar upon the island; that the Picts, who lived in Scotland, were the descendants of those Belgic Britons; that the Scots were adventurers, who originally came from the northern countries; and that more polite nations termed them Scythians, because of their uncouth, barbarous appearance; from whence the Britons first named them *Skuits*, and the Romans, from them, called them *Scoti*. That a colony of the *Skuits*, or *Scots* might be brought under Miletius, or some other leader, from Spain to Ireland, where they settled, from whence Ireland formerly had the name of *Scotia*, by no means clashes with my account. The truth is, antiquaries have bewildered themselves in their conjecturs and disputes, by not attending to the universality of the Celtic language.

Though we have supposed the Scots, at this time, to have inhabited the western parts of Scotland, yet I am far from thinking, that parties of them might not have landed on other parts of the coasts; and it seems to be more than probable, that about the year 330, they might have means to collect themselves into one body, so as to make head against the Romans. I cannot even perceive any absurdity in thinking, that many of them, before their arrival in Scotland, might have served as mercenaries in the frequent wars which then desolated the empire. It is well known, the Roman armies, at that time, were composed of disciplined provincials and barbarians; and that no set of adventurers could ever be without employment in the field. The superiority which the Scots soon acquired, and afterwards maintained, over the Picts and

Caledonians, though, probably, greatly inferior in numbers to both, render this opinion the more probable.

The successor assigned to Crathilinth by the Scotch writers is **FINCORMACH**, who is represented as performing many glorious exploits against the Romans, and as a prince of great Christian piety. Constantine died in the year 337; and we know little or nothing from the Roman historians of the affairs of Britain for some years after his death. According to the Scotch and British historians, Trahern, brother to the empress Helena, was left by Constantine his lieutenant in Britain; and defeated Octavius, whom the South Britons had chosen for their king. Octavius, after his defeat, fled to Fincormach, from whom Trahern demanded him. Fincormach had spirit enough, not only to refuse to give Octavius up, but to raise an army to restore him to his throne; which he actually did, after defeating Trahern, and forcing him to fly to Gaul. We are told that Octavius, in return for Fincormach's services, ceded to him the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland; by which, perhaps, we are to understand the country of the Mearae. Octavius soon repented of his generosity; but as he was preparing to dispossess Fincormach of his new acquisition, Trahern returned at the head of twenty thousand men, and defeated Octavius, who fled to Norway. Upon the death of Trahern, he mounted his throne a third time, and ever after lived upon amicable terms with the Scots and Picts; the name of the Caledonians being now almost disused. Fincormach is said to have died in 358. Whatever truth may be in the above relation, it is certain, that under the emperor Constans, the nations to the north of the Roman praetentures made so considerable an impression upon South Britain, that he was obliged to go over in the middle of winter to suppress them. He was attended by his brother Constantius. Whether they were successful, does not appear, which gives some countenance to the Scotch accounts of this period. They are, indeed omitted by Buchanan, which is the more extraordinary, as they are admitted by Fordun.

Three cousin-germans, begotten by three brothers of Cra-



thilinth, whose names was Romach, Fethelmach, and Angus, or Aeneas, disputed for the crown after the death of Fincormach; though he left two minor sons, Ethod and Eugene, who were carried to the Isle of Man, then subject to the crown of Scotland.

ROMACH being descended from the elder brother, was favoured by the Picts, mounted the throne, and forced the other two competitors to leave the kingdom: but proving a tyrant, his nobles put him to death, and, by way of derision, carried his head about upon a pole. His death was resented by Nectan, king of the Picts, his kinsman, who being defeated by AENEAS, this last succeeded Romach. Nectan, however, again took the field, and, after a bloody battle, Aeneas being defeated and killed, was succeeded by FETHELMACH, the third competitor above-mentioned, who ravaged the counties of Fife and Angus, part of the Pictish dominions, and killed their king; but was himself afterwards stabbed by his harper, who had been suborned for that purpose by the Picts. Fethelmach was succeeded by EUGENE the first, son of Fincormach. Under him, the Roman and Pictish forces were united against the Caledonians and Scots. The name of the Pictish king was Hergust, and of the Roman praefect Maximus. The Roman and Pictish forces joined against Eugene, whom they defeated in the county of Galloway; but Maximus, unable to improve his victory, by being obliged to return to the south, where an insurrection had happened, separated from the Picts, who were thereupon defeated by the Scots. Next year, Maximus, whose secret intention was to root out both the Scots and Picts, marched against the former, on pretence of revenging the wrongs done by them to the latter. The Scots, seeing their extermination was intended, brought into the field, not only the men capable of bearing arms, but their women likewise. In an engagement which ensued, they would have beaten the Picts and Britons, had not the latter been supported by the disciplined Romans; but Eugene being killed, with the greatest part of his nobility, the Scots were completely defeated, the survivors reduced to a state of slavery, and finally expelled.

led the country. Some of them took refuge in the Ebudae islands, and others in Scandinavia and Ireland. From thence they made frequent descents upon Scotland, with good, bad, and indifferent success.

Maximus afterwards assumed the imperial dignity; but was killed in Italy. The Britons chose Constantine to succeed him; and upon his death Gratian, who being likewise killed, Victorinus was sent as propraetor from Rome, to govern Britain. The Picts had hitherto appeared as allies of the Romans; but Victorinus commanded them to adopt the Roman laws, and to chuse no king who was not sent them from Rome. The Picts looking upon those injunctions as tending to a state of slavery, repented of their having contributed to the expulsion of the Scots, who had made several unsuccessful attempts to resettle themselves.

Duristius, son of Hergust the Pictish king, rebelled against the Romans, but was defeated, and sent prisoner to Rome. The royal army of Scotland at that time resided in Denmark. The heads of it were Ethod, and his son Erth: both of them died in exile; but the latter married a Danish princess, by whom he had a son, Fergus II, who followed the fortunes of Alaric the famous Goth, and was present at the sack of the city of Rome in the year 410, by the northern barbarians.

Here the first division of our history of Scotland end; but we must preserve our proposed method, by accompanying it with what we learn from the Romans.

Magnentius was, by the Roman Britons, declared emperor in opposition to Constantius, the surviving son of Constantine the Great. The father of Magnentius was a Briton, and his claim was favoured by Gratianus Funarius, the imperial general upon the island; but, after a dispute of three years, Magnentius was so much reduced that he killed himself at Lyons in France. Constantius becoming thereby the sole possessor of the empire, sent over one Paul, a Spanish notary, as an inquisitor, to confiscate the estates of such Britons who had joined Magnentius. Paul proceeding with great severity in the exercise of this infamous office, was opposed by one Martin,

a generous Roman, who attempted to kill him ; but missing his blow, he plunged his sword into his own bosom. The cruelties and rapaciousness of Paul had then no check ; however, in the time of Julian the Apostate, he met with a deserved fate, by being burnt alive. All this time the northern Britons were continuing their ravages to the south of the Roman praetentures. Julian sent over Lupicinus, an abandoned monster of avarice and cruelty, to restrain them ; but, tho' he landed with a large army, composed of different nations, he performed nothing memorable. Alypius is the next Roman governor we meet with in Britain ; and when Valentinian came to the imperial throne, the Roman interest in Britain was almost extinguished by the incursions of the northern nations. They defeated and killed Nectorius, count of the sea-coast, one of the greatest men under the Roman government, and Bulehobaudes, another general of great distinction. Valentinian sent Severus to repel the invaders, and he, being soon recalled, was succeeded by Jovinus. This last, when he arrived, found the Roman affairs so desperate that he solicited a supply from the imperial court ; and Theodosius, esteemed the best general of the age, was sent with a large army from the continent against the Picts, who appear to have been, at this time, the leading people in the north of Britain. They were divided into two nations, the Dicaledonii and the Vecturiones, who were no other than the southern and the northern inhabitants. The former had been converted to Christianity by St. Ninian, a Briton, and were separated from the latter by the Grampian mountains. For this information we are indebted to the unexceptionable authorities of Ammianus Marcellinus and the venerable Bede. Mention is likewise made of the Attacotti, a most warlike race, who we believe, were a tribe of Scythians or Scots, inhabiting Caithness and the northern counties ; and even the Scots are mentioned as making war at this time upon the Romans.

When Theodosius landed, he found the Roman empire in Britain in a manner cooped up in the southern parts ; the Picts and the Scots having penetrated almost as far as the Bri-



tannian Prima, which lay to the south of London. The northern invaders being chiefly intent upon plunder, and, as we may suppose, poorly disciplined, it was no difficult matter for such a general as Theodosius, at the head of a numerous army, to repel them. He formed his troops into three divisions; and having stripped the invaders of their plunder, restored it to the original proprietors. He then returned to London, to consult in what manner the Roman interest could be revived and preserved. This he found a far more difficult consideration than he had foreseen. The Caledonians and Picts had inspired their southern brethren with a spirit of revolt; and the accounts which the Roman general received of their courage and fierceness, gave him every thing to apprehend, if he should receive the least check in the field. It was, however, necessary for him to drive the northern invaders beyond the *praetentures*; accordingly Theodosius, committing the charge of the civil affairs to a Roman lawyer, and the military to one Dulcitus, took the field, and with great difficulty forced his enemies to the north of Adrian's wall: and, at last, compelled them to agree to a peace. He then applied himself to the strengthening of the frontiers, which he found in a most miserable situation. The Roman historian is lavish in his praises of the care Theodosius took to repeople the cities, and recruit the garrisons, that lay towards the North. He observed that the *praetentures* were an insignificant barrier against the northern nations; and he, therefore, erected into a separate province (which, from the name of the emperor Valens, was called *Valentia*) all the lands lying between the *praetentures* of Adrian and *Urbicus*, and which is known by the name of the country of the *Maetae*. This measure was founded on sound policy; as we may well suppose that the province was, in a manner, new-peopled by Roman subjects. In fact, Theodosius, entirely altered and regulated the system of the Roman government in Britain, by reducing it to a regular order.

This appears by the celebrated *Notitia*, published by Pancirollus, which contains a list of the civil and military officers of the Roman empire in Britain, and probably written in the time

of Theodosius the younger; but the particulars are foreign to this history, as the establishment was confined to south Britain. Mention is made of the *AREANI*, a set of men employed as lookers-out upon the praetenture, and whose business it was to give warning of the motions of the northern nations. These not only neglecting their duty, but even confederating with the enemy, Theodosius moved them from their posts and then returned to the continent with as great a character as of the antient Romans ever bore. Upon the whole, there is reason to believe this campaign of Theodosius in Britain to have been the most glorious of any made by the Romans since the days of Agricola. That the Scots were then settled in the northern parts of the island, appears unquestionably from the testimony of Claudian, and other writers. It seems likewise certain, that Theodosius carried his arms into Ierne, the inhabitants of which he subdued: but antiquaries are divided in opinion, whether by that Ierne was signified Ireland, or Strathern, which lies on the banks of the river Ierna, or Ern, in Scotland. The point has been warmly agitated between the Scotch and English antiquaries. For my own part, I can see no acquisition gained by the Scots, either in point of antiquity or dignity, in admitting that their forefathers had the honour of being put to the sword by the Romans. Neither is it very easy to ascertain the glory which can result to England, by suppling that the Romans carried their victorious arms into Ireland.

The brave Theodosius was succeeded by Fraomarius, as legate of Britain; but we know little or nothing of his exploits there. The emperor Gratian made the younger Theodosius, son to the conqueror of the Picts, his associate in the empire. Maximus, a general of great merit, resenting the preference given to Theodosius, assumed the imperial purple in Britain; and his usurpation falls in with the period which the most authentic accounts of the Scots fix as the commencement of their monarchy.

To conclude, the reader is to judge for himself as to the credit due to the narrative which I have taken from the Scotch

historians. It is not, I acknowledge, easy to ascertain the authorities upon which Boece founds his history; but I dare not reject the whole. Some part of it may be true, because it is countenanced by Roman and co-temporary writers. We know of no disability that the inhabitants of the northern parts of the island, who had so great an intercourse with the Romans, were under, from recording the actions of their own times: nor do we think that the high antiquities of many countries, which have been adopted by history, rest upon a more solid foundation than that of the Scots. The probability of the facts recorded, is, perhaps, the strongest evidence which can be brought, that the history of the first forty kings, here given, is the composition of latter times; because those coined in more early ages, teem with marvellous and miraculous incidents.

Here we may observe that, it is unknown, that according to the testimonies of Origen and Tertullian the Scots did embrace the faith amongst the first, and probably (as Buchanan sheweth) from some of John's disciples, who fled by reason of the persecution, caused by that bloody Domitian so that about the year 203. which was the fourth year of king Donald the first, Christian Religion was publicly professed, the king himself, his Queen, and diverse of the Nobles being solemnly baptized, after which he purposed to root out Heathenism out of the kingdom, but was hindered by wars with the emperor Severus.

Thereafter about the year 277 King Cratilinth intended a reformation, but was much hindered by the heathenish priests, (called Druides from their sacrificing in groves under oaks, as some suppose) who by their subtil insinuations and power, had much influence upon the people; yet the Lord did second the intentions of this good king, and sent several worthy men both ministers and private Christians, from the south parts of Britan, where the ninth and tenth persecution under Aurelius and Dioclesian did rage, and these for their single and retired life, were called Culdees, *quasi cul-*



*tores Dei* more probably, than because their living in Cels; and this work continued till about the year 340, and then did meet with a great interruption, by reason of civil wars.

We have now given a history of no less than 39 kings, which some late historians have affirmed never reigned in Scotland: but these authors we cannot agree with.

We shall now give a table shewing the time when the fore-mentioned kings reigned in Scotland, according to the Scots historians.

| Name of the Kings. |    | Anno Mundi. | Ante Christ. |
|--------------------|----|-------------|--------------|
| Fergus I.          | 1  | 3641        | 330          |
| Ferithar,          | 2  | 3666        | 305          |
| Mainus,            | 3  | 3680        | 291          |
| Dornadil,          | 4  | 3709        | 262          |
| Nothat,            | 5  | 3738        | 233          |
| Reutha,            | 6  | 3758        | 213          |
| Reuda,             | 7  | 3784        | 187          |
| Therus,            | 8  | 3799        | 171          |
| Josina,            | 9  | 3810        | 161          |
| Finan,             | 10 | 3834        | 137          |
| Durstus,           | 11 | 3864        | 107          |
| Even I.            | 12 | 3873        | 98           |
| Gillus,            | 13 | 3892        | 79           |
| Even II.           | 14 | 3894        | 77           |
| Eder,              | 15 | 3911        | 60           |
| Even III.          | 16 | 3959        | 12           |
| Metland,           | 17 | 3966        | 4            |
|                    |    |             | Anno Christ. |
| Caractus,          | 18 | 4005        | 35           |
| Corbred I.         | 19 | 4023        | 55           |
| Dardan,            | 20 | 4042        | 72           |
| Corbred II.        | 21 | 4046        | 76           |
| Lustacus,          | 22 | 4080        | 190          |
| Mogold,            | 23 | 4083        | 113          |
| Conar,             | 24 | 4119        | 149          |
| Ethod I.           | 25 | 4133        | 163          |
| Satrael,           | 26 | 4165        | 195          |

| Name of the Kings. |    | Anno Mundi. | Anno Christ. |
|--------------------|----|-------------|--------------|
| Donald I.          | 27 | 4169        | 199          |
| Ethod II.          | 28 | 4186        | 216          |
| Athirco,           | 29 | 4201        | 231          |
| Nathalocus,        | 30 | 4212        | 242          |
| Findoe,            | 31 | 4223        | 253          |
| Donald II.         | 32 | 4234        | 264          |
| Donald III.        | 33 | 4235        | 255          |
| Crathilinth,       | 34 | 4247        | 277          |
| Fincormach,        | 35 | 4271        | 301          |
| Romach,            | 36 | 4318        | 248          |
| Enas,              | 37 | 4321        | 351          |
| Fethelmach,        | 38 | 4324        | 354          |
| Eugen I.           | 39 | 4327        | 357          |

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the Scots affairs, from the beginning of the reign of FERGUS II. to the beginning of the reign of FERCHARD I. This is a period of 218 years.*

**N**ENNIUS, the oldest and most unexceptionable historian of British affairs, as confined to this island, gives sufficient evidence that the Irish and the British Scots were a distinct people, while the island was under the power of the Romans; and this, we think, admits of no doubt. The testimonies produced by the Scots for their antiquities as high as the year of our Lord 400 (though falling far short of their pretended antiquity) are full and strong, because they are taken from records which time has providentially preserved from the ravages which their archives underwent from Edward the first of England. From them it appears, that such a person as Fergus, the son of Erth, was king of the Scots at the period I have mentioned; but who this Fergus was, or what was the extent of his dominions, are matters of historical disquisition; nor can they be cleared up but by probable deduction.

MAXIMUS, whom I have already mentioned, having assumed the imperial purple in Britain, grew so popular by the checks which he gave to the Scots and Picts, that he carried over with him to the continent a considerable army of Britons, with which he subdued and killed Gratian. Were I to hazard a conjecture, I should be of opinion, that Maximus found means to transport with him a large body of the Scots, who were then confessedly the most warlike part of the inhabitants of Caledonia; and this gave rise to the supposed evacuation of Britain by the Scots, at this time. Be that as it may, it seems to be certain, that upon Maximus leaving the island, the northern inhabitants, renewed their incursions, and again pierced the praetentures, about the time that Theodosius defeated Maximus. When the latter was dead, the Britons who served under him dispersed themselves, and the bulk of them settled in Armorica in France, now called, from them, Britany. Those facts being established, we can see no manner of absurdity in supposing, that the Scots, who served under Maximus, separated themselves from the southern Britons, and returned to the island. The oldest monument we now have, previous to the destruction of their archives by Edward the first, expressly mentions Fergus as reigning in Argyleshire; and from his time, the succession of the Scotch kings is uninterrupted. We shall, however, consistently with our plan, relate his history, as given by the Scotch writers.

We have already seen how the Scots were expelled the island at the instigation of the Picts; but we are told by their historians, that Maximus would have willingly protected them, which is a strong confirmation of our conjecture that he carried numbers of them over to the continent. Upon the death of Alaric, Galla Placidia, sister to the emperor Honorius, persuaded Adaulphus, who had succeeded Alaric, to send Fergus with a body of troops to Britain; and he accordingly arrived there in 421. He was immediately joined by the Picts, who being now sensible of their impolitic animosities against the Scots, joined with them in attacking the Britons: and in this the Scotch history is supported by the Roman. The younger



Theodosius having left his empire to his sons Arcadius and Honorius, Britain fell under the dominion of the latter, who employed the famous Stilico as his general; by whose means the Scots and Picts were driven to the north of the praetentures. Some have thought that Stilico never was in Britain; but I am inclined to the opposite opinion; though it is certain, that in his time Nictorinus likewise commanded there. The following passage, in Claudian, gives some countenance to the Scots landing in Argyle from Ireland:

*“ Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,  
Munivit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hibernem  
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Thetis:  
Illius effectum curis, ne bella temerem  
Scotica, nec Pictum timerem, nec littore toto  
Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis.”*

## T R A N S L A T E D.

“ Me when of peace a barbarous foe bereaved,  
His cares protected, and his courage saved:  
Propp'd by his hand, when Ireland's hostile tide  
Bore all her youth to wound my fenceless side;  
Fearless, the sight of Scots and Picts I bore,  
And all the swarms of Saxons on my shore.”

This tranquillity of Britain was of no long continuance; for the progress which the Goths made in Italy obliged Stilico to recall the Roman troops, who had repelled the Scots and Picts. No sooner were those orders executed than the same incursions were renewed; and we learn from Zosimus the historian, that the emperor Honorius wrote a letter to the provinciated Britons, exhorting them to exert their own courage in repelling the northern invaders. The Britons, on receiving this latter, considered it as their emancipation from the Roman government, and immediately raised one Marcus to the sovereignty. Marcus being in a short time put to death, was

succeeded by Gratian, who experiencing the like fate, Constantine, a brave able general, assumed the purple. This prince carried an army of Britons over to the continent; but he was put to death in the year 411. In the mean while, the Britons being deserted by their new-raised emperor, returned to their duty under Honorius, and humbly applied to him for assistance against the Scots and Picts. A legion was accordingly sent them about the year 414, who supported the Roman interest till the year 419, and then they were recalled. Those events bring our history near the time fixed by the Scots for the establishment of their monarchy, under Fergus, the son of Erith. The Roman government was, at that time, so pressed by the Goths and other barbarous nations, that the emperors could not conveniently afford the Britons farther succours; but they exhorted them to repair, and garrison the praetentures. These were but feeble barriers against the Scots, who were furnished with small ships, in which they made frequent descents on South Britain. Again, the Britons made the most lamentable complaints to the Roman emperor, and Gallio, of Ravenna, was sent to their relief. This general advised them to give up to the Scots all the territory to the north of Adrian's wall; and after giving them directions how to fortify it, the Romans took their final leave of the island. We are therefore to return to the Scotch historians.

One GRAHAM, or GRÆME, is assigned as the general and father-in-law of Fergus, and he is said to have been by birth a Dane. I take the name to be the common designation of the northern tribes, who lived in tents without any fixed habitation; and the Graemes are, even in the reign of Edward the sixth, mentioned in the English records as a people who lived between the two praetentures. All our writers agree that Graham was a profest enemy to the provinciated Britons, and demolished great part of one of the praetentures, which, from him, is called Graham's Dike. Three independent kings are mentioned as reigning at this time in Britain: Fergus, king of the Scots; Durstus, king of the Picts; and Dioneth, a British prince. The two former are said to have fallen in

battle, against the Romans, in 430, about five years before the Romans evacuated the island. In all this narrative, there is no striking incongruity between the Roman and Scotch historians.

Fergus left behind him three sons, Eugene, Dongard, and Constantius, who, being minors, were put under the guardianship of Graham. This nobleman retaining his implacable enmity to the Britons, brought into the field all the Scots who were capable of bearing arms; and the Britons were so much distressed, that they applied to Ætius the Roman general in Gaul, for assistance. Their complaints were extremely pathetic. They represented that their distresses were brought upon them by the aids they had sent to the Romans upon the continent, which had so greatly impoverished their country, and occasioned such a scarcity of hands, that they were afflicted by a famine. "The barbarians (say they, in their letter to Ætius) drive us to the sea; the sea repels us upon the barbarians: thus, we have the alternative of two deaths, either of being put to the sword, or perishing in the waves, without any prospect of relief." Ætius gave them no succour; but they obtained a short respite from the famine and mortality which then reigned among their enemies, as well as themselves. The truth is, the Romans had kept the Britons, for some years before their departure out of the island, in such a state of subjection, that they were ignorant of all the arts of life, and even of agriculture. Whether their enemies were less barbarous, admits of dispute; but they certainly were more brave. They carried with them hooks and grappling-irons, with which they pulled the unhappy Britons from their walls, part of which they thirled or perforated. By this time Eugene, the eldest son of Fergus the Second (as the Scots commonly call him) having, in conjunction with the king of the Picts, reduced the Britons to the most deplorable condition, granted them peace upon the following terms: "That they should not send for any Roman or other foreign army to assist them; that they should not admit them, if they came voluntarily or unsolicited, nor allow them to march through their country; that the enemies



of the Scots and Picts should be their also ; that, without their permission, they should not make peace or war, nor send aid to any who desired it ; that the limits of their kingdom should also make present payment of a certain sum of money, by way of mulct, to be divided among the soldiers, which also was to be paid yearly by them ; and that they should give an hundred hostages, such as the confederate kings should approve of."

Upon Eugene's return to his own country, a great revolution happened in the southern part of Britain. A number of petty tyrants set up for themselves ; of whom Vortigern proved the most fortunate. Being a pusillanimous, tyrannical prince, and finding himself threatened with a fresh invasion from the north, he invited the Saxons to his assistance. The history of the Saxons, who afterwards subdued all England, is foreign to this work. It is sufficient to say here, that they were attended by the Jutes and the Angles, two Danish tribes ; from the latter of whom England has her name. This happened in the year 458, and the fact is recorded by Bede, who lived in 677 ; but the history of Vortigern is confused and uncertain. There is reason to believe that the Scots and Picts had made, at that time, a great progress in South Britain ; and that a battle was fought between these nations on the one side, and the Saxons and Britons on the other, near Stamford, in Lincolnshire. The Scots were armed with darts and lances, and their enemies with axes and scymetars, by which the latter obtained the victory. As to Eugene, it is uncertain whether he was drowned in the Humber, or died a natural death ; but it is universally allowed that he was a most excellent prince, and reigned thirty years.

Eugene was succeeded by his brother Dongard, a prince likewise of great merit, who endeavoured to propagate the Christian religion in his dominions, when they were invaded by the Britons in the fifth year of his reign. According to some historians, he and his allies, the Picts, fought a great battle on the banks of the Humber with the Britons, in which the latter lost sixteen thousand men, and the former fourteen

thousand, together with their king Dongard. Buchanan makes no mention of this battle, and Fordun leaves it uncertain. It seems to be an undoubted fact, that Vortigern the British prince was persuaded to call in an additional supply of Saxons to his aid; and that they made a descent upon Scotland, and afterwards settled in Northumberland, from whence they drove the Scots. Hengist the Saxon leader, being pressed by the Britons under Vortimer, son to Vortigern, clapped up a peace with the Scots and Picts, and by their assistance fought a bloody, but indecisive battle, with the Britons, in Kent, of which we find Hengist king in 458. Next year another battle was fought near Folkstone, and soon after Vortimer died. It does not appear from the Saxon Chronicle (the most authentic record we have of that age) that the Scots and Picts were present at the battle of Folkstone; but it gives us room to think that the Britons were defeated in both engagements: and we are told by the English ecclesiastical historians, that the Picts had joined the Saxons, and were present at the battle in which the latter were defeated by the Britons under bishop Germanus. The death of Dongard is fixed to the year 465.

Dongard was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE the first; and here it is safest for us to rely upon the British and Saxon historians. Ambrosius was well served by the Scots, to whom he gave a settlement between the two praetentures. It is highly probable, and it appears indeed almost confirmed by history, that the Southern Britons beheld this settlement with a jealous eye, and thought it an encroachment upon their countrymen the Strath-clyde Welch, who were sent up to Dumbarton, and the western parts. They accordingly presented several remonstrances to Ambrosius, who was, at last, obliged to re-demand the land he had granted; but the Scots were so far from yielding to this requisition, that they prepared to maintain their settlement by force of arms; and the terror of the Saxons, then immediately connected with the Picts, had such an influence on Ambrosius and the Britons, that they confirmed the grant of the disputable lands to the Scots, and entered into a fresh league with them, which continued till the

Saxons established their heptarchy in South Britain. We are told by the same authorities, that the Scots proved of infinite service to the Britons on this occasion ; for being lightly armed, they were more quick, both in their attacks and retreats, than the Saxons, whose armour was heavy. All the assistance which the Scots afforded to their allies could not, however, prevent the latter from being at last ruined, by the fresh shoals of Saxons which every day poured in from the continent. As to Constantine, his personal history is very doubtful. Buchanan, after Boece, represents him as a degenerated prince, and that his subjects rebelled again him, for having abandoned himself to every species of lust and vice. They also censure him for making some cessions to the Britons ; and it is not improbable that he might give up part of his territory upon the re-establishment of the late peace. Boece particularly mentions several castles standing upon the river Humber ; and says, that one Dougal of Galloway, who was undoubtedly a nobleman of the Meatae, preserved Constantine from the rage of his subjects ; but that he was afterwards killed by a chief of the Ebudae isles, whose daughter he had debauched. Fordun, whose authority is preferable to Boece and Buchanan, takes no notice of Constantine's vicious course of life, and intimates that he died in peace in 479, after reigning twenty-two years.

We are told that CONGAL I. son of Dongard, who succeeded Constantine, was the true heir to the crown ; that he ratified the peace with the Britons ; and in conjunction with them carried on war against the Picts. He conquered the latter, but they were vanquished by the Saxons, notwithstanding the most vigorous efforts of the Scots to support them. The incidents related of this prince by Boece, are destitute of all foundation in contemporary histories ; neither is it safe to adopt the fabulous accounts of some authors concerning the famous British worthy king Arthur. If that hero actually invaded the Scotch territories, and penetrated as far as Edinburgh (which we have some reason to believe he did) it was, probably, in pursuit of the Picts, or their Saxon allies, whom he defeated more than once in Lincolnshire: but the most



antient historians give no countenance to an invasion of Scotland by Arthur; on the contrary, both William of Malmshury, as well as the venerable Bede, mention the Britons and Scots as making war upon the Saxons and Picts.

Upon the death of Congal, in 501, he was succeeded by his brother GONRAN, who had commanded a body of Scots against the Saxons. In his time Uther Pendragon is said to have reigned over the Britons. According to Fordun, this prince attempted to take Westmoreland from the Scots; but was at last compelled, by the incursions of the Saxons, to renew the antient league with Gonran, who proved a virtuous prince, as well as a great justiciary, and had credit enough to persuade the king of the Picts (named Lothus) to break his league with the Saxons, who were now become too formidable to all the inhabitants of Britain. If we may believe the Scotch writers, king Arthur, the successor of Uther Pendragon, owed his principal victories to Gonran, who was murdered, with his chief justiciary Tonset, at Lochaber (Fordun says, Innerlochy) by a Highland chief, whom he had exasperated by his too great severity. Contemporary with Gonran was GILDAS the Briton, son to the king of the Meatae, and born at Dumbarton. His father's name is said, by some writers, to have been Caunus, and by others Navus; and he was succeeded by his son Hoel. The Scotch have, therefore, considered him as their countryman, though, I think, with little propriety, unless they can prove his father and bother to have been Scotchmen, which I apprehend to be impossible. Gonran's death is fixed to the year 535, being the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried with his predecessors in the island of Hy, now called Icolmkill, and, according to Fordun, within the church of St. Oran, or Owran.

EUGENE the third, son to Congal, succeeded his uncle Gonran. Though he was pressed by his nobles to revenge his uncle's death, he not only neglected their advice, but even took the assassin into his service and favour, which occasioned his people to suspect him of being privy to the murder. It is surprising, that neither Boece or Buchanan take any notice of For-

dan's account of this reign. The last-mentioned historian tells us plainly, that Gonran was murdered by Eugene, or Eothod Hebdir, his nephew, who succeeded him; and that Gonran's wife fled to Ireland, with her two sons, Rogenan and Aidan, where she remained during the reigns of Eugene and his brother. Eugene, like his predecessors, assisted Arthur and the Britons against the Saxons; but could never be persuaded to encounter them in a pitched battle. The histories of Scotland, at this period, teem with the exploits of Arthur, and other British kings; but they are so confused and interlarded with the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that we can only assign them a very inconsiderable degree of credit; though there is sufficient foundation for the friendship we have recorded between the Britons and the Scots. Eugene the third is reported to have died in 569, in the thirty-third year of his reign, and is commended for many excellent civil institutions which he introduced into Scotland. The famous St. Mungo, or Kentigern, so highly celebrated in the ecclesiastical histories of that time, is thought to have been a natural son of Eugene, by a princess, daughter to Dothus, king of the Picts.

Eugene the third was succeeded by his brother CONVAL, who is extolled as the mirror of all princely qualities, chiefly, perhaps, on account of his extravagant liberality to St. Columba, and other prelates, who attended him from Ireland to Scotland. He died in 578, in the tenth year of his reign, and was succeeded by his brother KINNATIL, who possessed a similiar character. As this prince did not reign much above a year, some of the old historians, according to Buchanan, have not admitted him into the list of kings, and suppose that Conval was succeeded by Aydan.

This prince appears with distinguished lustre in history, his actions being recorded by the Saxons. The reader may remember, that upon the death of Gonran, his wife fled to Ireland with his two sons, of whom this Aydan was the youngest. The history of his accession to the throne would be too ridiculous and trifling, was it not a pregnant instance of the impostures practised by the churchmen of those days in mat-

ters of state. St. Columba, whom we have already mentioned, was not only the apostle of the western Scots, but the first minister of their kings. Upon Aydan's return to Scotland, he put himself under the tuition of the pious Columba, and read an order to himself that he should inaugurate Aydan in the throne. The saint offering some objections in favour of Rogenan, the angel cut him with a whip, the mark of which was visible all his life. Columba continuing refractory, the flagellation was repeated for two nights. At last the saint overcame his obstinacy; he went over to Hy, where he ordained Aydan king, by benediction and imposition of hands. Columba could not have made a more fortunate choice. Malgo, by some called Magoclanus, being then king of the Britons, renewed the antient league between his people and the Scots; in consequence of which, Aydan committed the command of a body of auxiliaries, who were to join Malgo to his son Griffin, and his nephew, Brendin, king of Man. Being joined by a body of Northern Britons, whom I suspect to have been the Cumbri, or the Meatae, they were attacked on their route by Gutha, son of Ceaulin the Saxon king, whom they defeated; but were, in their turn, conquered by Ceaulin, who was marching against them with a body of troops. This victory obliging the Britons to retire cross the river Severn, the Saxons took possession of great part of their dominions.

Cadwallo, Malgo's successor, encouraged by the dissensions which began to prevail among the Saxon princes, to oppose Ceaulin, was joined by Ethelbert, king of Kent. Aydan being required by Gadwallo to furnish his quota, marched with an army to join him, which he did at Chester. The Saxons, despising an enemy whom they had so lately repulsed, attacked them at Wodensburg, a small town in Wiltshire, where they were completely defeated, and Ceaulin lost not only the battle, but his crown. Of the Scots, we are told, no more than three hundred and three were killed.

Edelfrid, king of the Northumbrian Saxons, espoused the cause of his Southern countrymen against the Scots and Britons. Eleven years after the defeat of Ceaulin, Aydan, jealous



of the growing power of this prince, invaded Northumberland; but while his troops were intent upon plunder they were attacked at Degfastan, by the Saxons, and after a bloody battle received such a complete overthrow, as disabled them from giving any disturbance to the Saxons for many years after. Thus far the Scotch history is in general corroborated by Bede, and other Saxon authors. The more modern Scotch historians, however, have introduced a number of other particulars, unnoticed even by Fordun. They tell us (and their account is partly confirmed by the Saxon writers) that a quarrel happened, at a hunting-match, between the Scots and Picts, which was accommodated by Columba; but that Brude, king of the Picts, assisted Edelfrid with his troops at the battle of Degfastan, where it is certain, the Saxon king lost his brother Theobald. Next year Edelfrid, in conjunction with the Picts, invaded Galloway, the inhabitants of which were, from being allies, now become subjects, to the Scotch king. Aydan marched to their assistance, and repelled the invaders, but, after some other hostilities, a truce of eleven years was concluded. As some of those accounts carry marks of confusion and modern imposture, it is most prudent to follow Fordun, Bede, and the Saxon historians. According to Fordun, Aydan was so deeply affected by his defeat at Degfastan, that he died of grief at Kintire, when he was almost eighty years of age.

The Scots, Northumbrians, and Britons, seem to have been so greatly weakened at this period, that they gave each other no disturbance during the short reign of KENNETH KERR, son to Conval, and the successor of Aydan, who is said by Fordun to have reigned only three months. On his demise, in 606, EUGENE the fourth, or Ethod Buyd, ascended the throne. The elevation of this prince affords another proof of Columba's influence in the affairs of government; for, according to the above-mentioned author, he was chosen king by the saint, though he was Kenneth's fourth son, during the life-time of his elder brothers, who were killed soon after in battle. Before we take our leave of Aydan's family, we think it necessary to observe, that an ingenious critic has combated

the chronology of Fordun, because he fixes the beginning of the reign of Fergus, son of Erth, to the year 403; and he endeavours to prove from records written before the year 1291, now extant, that the settlement of Fergus was a hundred years latter than the before-mentioned writer has placed it.

Upon the whole, the reign of Aydan, and the time of his death, as we have fixed it, forms an unquestionable period in the Scottish history. We cannot dismiss this doubtful part of the Scottish annals without observing, what has been omitted by the antiquaries of that nation, that Nennius, the oldest of the British historians, who has been confounded with Gildas himself, has informed us, that he compiled his history from the Roman annals, the Chronicles of the holy fathers, the writings of the Scots and English, and from the tradition of the antient Britons, which had been reduced to writing by many learned men and librarians, and were then become very scarce, either through frequent deaths, or the devastations of war. This confirms my suspicion, that the Scots (for it will be proved hereafter that Nennius does not here mean the Irish) had certain records from whence they transcribed their high antiquities, the veracity of which, however, I pretend not to ascertain. If we may credit Buchanan, who copies from the Black Book of Paisley, one of the best Scotch records, Eugene the fourth was a very warlike prince; and Fordun says, that he harrassed the Saxons and Picts with perpetual incursions; that he was severe to all who resisted him; but meek, merciful, and forgiving to those he subdued. Boece, on the contrary, tells us that he lived in peace, by cherishing the divisions among his enemies. It is, however, agreed by all the oldest historians that after Edelfrid was defeated and killed by Redwald, his two sons, Oswald and Oswy, fled to Scotland; and Fordun asserts, that no fewer than seven of Edelfrid's sons, with a daughter, as well as many of the nobility, took refuge at the Scotch court, where they were affectionately received by Eugene. This prince, when on his death-bed, ordered, that after his decease his right hand should be separated from his body, and buried with

his sword and armorial bearings in the southern parts of his dominions, as a kind of charm against the invasions of their enemies. He died after a reign of sixteen years, in the year 622, leaving his crown and dominions to his son.

## C H A P. IX.

*Of the Scots affairs from the beginning of King FERCHARD the first, to the death of KENNETH MACALPINE in 855.*

**F**ERCHARD the first, who reigned ten years, and had the misfortune to entertain some singular notions in matters of religion (having been educated in a monastery under Conan bishop of the Isle of Man) for which his memory has suffered among the clergy. We are even told that his subjects committed him to prison for favouring the Pelagian heresy; and that after having consulted together on the most proper methods to supply his place, they at last resolved to invite Fiacre, his brother, who led a recluse life in France, to fill the throne. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to Fiacre's hermitage, where they found him a leper, as well as totally unqualified for the affairs of government. That such a person as Fiacre, a brother, or very near relation to the king of Scotland, lived at that time, and that he likewise received such an invitation, appears from unquestionable authority; but the writers of his life have absurdly ascribed his leprosy to the effect of his fervent prayers to God, that it might protect him from being compelled to quit his sanctimonious retirement. Perhaps the real cause of Ferchard's confinement may be imputed to the partiality this unhappy monarch discovered in favour of Pelagius (who probably was of British extraction, and a Cumbrian) and the British clergy, who composed the major part of his followers, which might disgust his subjects, from an apprehension that those foreign favourites would seduce the king into some constitutional measures. Whatever truth there may be in this conjecture, Ferchard is said to have



put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 632.

The seat of the Scotch government seems, at this time, to have been still confined to Argyleshire, and the western parts, where their leaders met and elected Donald the third, son of their late king Eugene, to fill the throne. This prince was likewise a favourite of St. Columba, who (according to Fordun) had foretold his elevation to royalty, when he was but a boy, with the additional, and almost wonderful, circumstance, that he would die a natural death. Edwin, then king of Northumberland, was universally acknowledged to be the most powerful prince in the island. His greatness, however, giving offence to Cadwallo, or Ceadwallo, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians, they joined their arms against him; and a bloody battle being fought between them at Hatfield, in Yorkshire, in which Edwin and his son were killed, Cadwallo gave a loose to all his innate hatred of the Saxons, and, though a Christian, behaved far more barbarously than Penda, who was still a heathen. Anfred, son of Edelfrid, whom we have already mentioned, with another Saxon noblemen of the old royal blood, continued to be protected by the kings of the Scots; but they no sooner received intelligence of Edwin's overthrow, than they petitioned Donald to assist them in recovering their rights. Donald accordingly complied with their request; though with an express restriction, that the troops he lent them should not be employed against Cadwallo, or the Britons, who were Christians, and the antient allies of his crown.

Northumberland was at this time divided into two provinces, or kingdoms; one called Deira, and the other Bernicia; the latter fell to Anfred; and Ofric, who was related to Edwin, succeeded to the former. Both princes, however, renounced Christianity, in which they had been carefully educated. That this great revolution was affected by the assistance Donald, seems indisputable; though Bede is silent as to the particulars. Cadwallo was then at York, where he was besieged by Ofric, who was afterward defeated and killed in a sally made by the Britons. Anfred, upon this, surrendered him-

self to Cadwallo, who ungenerously put him to death. Such was the fate of those apostate princes! Anfred's brother Oswald was still alive, and continued to profess the Christian religion, having been baptized in Scotland. This prince claimed his brother's crown, and collecting a handful of men, all Christians, and many of them, probably, Scots, he attacked Cadwallo, who had now rendered himself detestable by his cruelties, at Cockley, or, according to Fordun, at Thirlwall, near the Roman praetenture, where Cadwallo, though at the head of a numerous, well-disciplined army, was defeated, and killed; upon which Oswald succeeded peaceably to the united kingdoms of Northumberland. The same historian informs us, from Bede, that Oswald sent to Scotland for priests; and that St. Aidan, who was the first Bishop of Lindisfarne, arrived soon after at the Northumbrian court. Unfortunately this pious prelate did not understand the Saxon tongue; but this loss was supplied by Oswald himself, whose long residence in Scotland had rendered him a perfect master of the language of that country. Aidan, however, was afterwards bishop of all Northumberland. As to Donald, we are told, that he was educated in the Isle of Man, which I perceive was, at that time, in the possession of Edwin, king of Norththumberland; and that Conan, bishop of that island, transported him from thence to Scotland. Being afterwards drowned in loch Tay, in the the fifteenth year of his reign, and of our Lord 646, he was succeeded by his nepew, FERCHARD the second, son to Ferchard the first. This prince is stigmatized by Boece and Buchanan, as a monster of impurity and tyranny; though Fordun assures us, that he reigned fourteen years in perfect tranquillity. He is said to have been wounded by a wolf; to have been excommunicated by his subject, St. Colman; and to have died a miserable death.

MALDUIN, the son of Donald, next succeeded to the throne of Scotland, in 664, and lived on very bad terms with his Saxon neighbours, though there never was any formal declaration of war between the two nations. The Scots and Picts were the only people, we are told, that escaped a pestilence,

which, at this time, desolated all the rest of Europe. Malduin proved a prince of great piety and spirit, and quelled a civil war which broke out, in his reign, between the inhabitants of Argyle and Lenox; the former being supported by the islanders, and the latter by the Gallovidians. We meet with few particulars concerning this prince's reign, except what is related by Boece and Buchanan, who assert, that when Malduin was upon the eve of a war with the Saxons, he was strangled by his wife, in a fit of jealousy; and being afterwards apprehended, with her accomplices, she was burnt alive, in the year 684.

The history of EUGENE the fifth (called, in old chronicles, Eugene, or Eochol with the crooked nose) who was the nephew, as well as successor of Malduin, is more explicit than that of his predecessor. Upon this accession to the throne, he concluded a truce for twelve months with Egfrid, king of Bernicia, who had dispossessed his brother Alfrid of the kingdom Deira, and had quarrelled with the pope and his bishop Wilfred. Egfrid at the same time commenced hostilities against the Picts, who had invaded Northumberland; he seems, however, to have quickly made peace both with them and the Scots, to facilitate his projected conquest of Ireland; whither he accordingly transported an army. But the Irish, though a harmless, inoffensive people, and willing to have submitted to any reasonable terms, being incensed by his cruelty and ambition, at last took arms and drove the Northumbrians out of their kingdom. It is very probable that the Scots sent over assistance to the Irish, whom they considered as their allies, if not as their countrymen.

Be this as it may, it is certain that Egfrid, upon his return to Northumberland, raised an army, with which, contrary to the opinion of all his council, he invaded Galloway; and, being joined by the Picts, laid siege to the castle of Doniskene. Eugene, foreseeing what would happen, took the field at the head of a strong army, and entering into a secret correspondence with the Picts, prevailed with them to withdraw their troops from those of the ambitious Northumbrian. Here some



difficulty occurs, since it is doubtful whether Galloway, at that time, belonged to the Scots or the Picts: if it was in possession of the latter, the siege of the castle of Donkene must have been after the Picts had deserted the Northumbrians. It is certain, however, that Egfrid, finding himself unable to oppose the united army, retired to his own dominions, after being defeated (if we may credit Buchanan and Boece) in a bloody battle with the Scots, who lost six thousand of their own men, but killed twenty thousand of their enemies. Though I am inclined to doubt whether such a battle was ever fought, yet there can be no question that in the year 685, Egfrid invaded the country of the Picts, who, by a feigned retreat, drew him towards the mountains, where his army was completely defeated, and himself killed. I must not, however, conceal, that some manuscripts of Bede mention this last expedition to have been made against the Scots, and some against the Picts. The latter appear to have been the greatest gainers by Egfrid's defeat; for they recovered all the territories taken from them by the kings of Northumberland. The Scots and the Britons likewise enjoyed their share of the spoils of the kingdom of Northumberland, which, after this defeat, never recovered its importance. Some modern writers think, that the country of Ireland mentioned to have been invaded by Egfrid, lay in Scotland, upon the banks of the Ierne, or Ern; but we cannot adopt this opinion, without unhinging the credibility of history itself. Eugene the fifth is said to have died in the fourth year of his reign, and to have been succeeded by EUGENE the sixth (called by Fordun Eugene the fifth) the son of Ferchard. He was, for those times, a learned prince, being educated under Adaman, abbot of Icolm-kill. He cultivated peace with the Northumbrians; but had frequent quarrels and truces with the Picts. Northumberland was then governed by Alfrid, said, by Fordun, to have been a bastard-brother of the late king Egfrid. Here we have a plain distinction, not attended to by later historians, between Scotland and Ireland; for the above-mentioned writer says expressly, that this Alfrid was educated in Scotland and Ireland, and was in-

imate with Eugene, by which means they lived in friendship together. The Picts, at that time, were very powerful, and the union between the two kings was political; for the Saxon Chronicle informs us, that Bertus, or Berth, who had been general to Egfrid, in his descent upon Ireland, invaded the country of the Picts to revenge his master's death; but that he was defeated and killed by them, as a just judgment upon him, according to Matthew of Westminster, for the cruelty he had exercised upon the harmless Irish. For these particulars we are indebted to the English records, which insinuate, that Alfrid found the Scots and the Picts so well settled in the dominions they recovered from his predecessor, that he could never retake them. Eugene dying in the tenth year of his reign, the crown devolved on AMBERKELETH, who was nephew to Eugene the fifth. Fordun is silent as to the vices of laziness and luxury, with which this prince is accused by Boece and Buchanan. He tells us, however, that during that year of his accession, which was in 697, he inconsiderately entered into a war with the Picts; and that he was killed with an arrow, in thick wood, while he was invading his dominions.

Amberkelem was succeeded by his brother, EUGENE the seventh, who married Spondana, daughter of Garnard, then king of the Picts, with whom he also concluded a peace. Spondana is said to have been murdered by two assassins, brothers, instead of her husband, who had put their father to death. The Picts suspecting Eugene to have been the murderer, prepared to revenge her death. A part of the Scotch nobility likewise inclining to the same opinion, the king was called upon to justify his conduct before the states of his kingdom; but in the mean time, the real murderers were apprehended, convicted, and died confessing their crime. As Fordun mentions none of these facts, they are, perhaps, forged by Boece, to prove the jurisdiction which the states of the kingdom had over their kings. Eugene would have resented this treatment, had he not been dissuaded by the admonitions of the good bishop Adaman. After this, he convoked an assembly of the most learned men in his dominions, and ordered them to compose

the history of his predecessors ; which, after it was completed, was lodged in the monastery of Icolm-kill. The truth is, the kings in the northern parts of Britain were, at this time, perhaps, the most learned princes in the world ; and their common studies seem to have kept them in profound tranquillity. Ceolwolf was then king of Northumberland ; and Bede, who dedicated his history to that prince, acknowledges that the Scots and Picts lived with him in inviolable friendship. We have not, however, been able to learn, whether that history was seen by later historians, though it is almost indisputable, that long before this period the Scots had registers of their public transactions. After being a generous benefactor to the priests, and having repaired and rebuilt several churches, Eugene died, in 715, being the seventeenth year of his reign. He is represented by Fordun, as a modest, affable prince, devoted to peace, and, though addicted to hunting, adorning his country with excellent laws.

MURDAC, the son of Amberkeleth, next mounted the throne of Scotland, and imitated his predecessor in cultivating the arts of peace ; for the venerable Bede speaks in raptures of the harmony which then prevailed among the Britons, the Northumbrians, the Scots, and the Picts. He likewise informs us, that each of those nations spoke a different language ; a mistake he probably fell into, from being ignorant that the Britons, Scots and Picts, originally used the same dialect ; tho' it is not improbable, that in his time, the provincial pronunciation might have disguised it so, as to seem three different languages. Murdae was a great benefactor to the church ; and, according to some authors, founded or repaired the monastery of Candida Casa, or Whitehorn, in Galloway ; though others think that province to have been then in the possession of the English. It is not, in fact, easy to ascertain the boundaries of the Saxons, Scots, and Picts, nor the precise time when their territorial property changed its masters. Sometimes a country, or an estate, was held in homage, which was paid by the person, who enjoyed the real possession of it, to its superior lord ; but the frequent inroads, devastations, and plun-



derings, which those parts of the island were at this time subject to, deprives us of all the means of ascertaining, even for a few days or weeks, the property of the soil. In a case like this, however, it is very possible that Murdac might rebuild or repair a church for which he had a veneration, though it stood upon other people's ground. This prince, after a peaceable reign, dying in 732, was succeeded by ETHFIN, son of Eugene the seventh, a pacific prince likewise, as well as a strict justiciary. In the decline of life, being oppressed with years and infirmities, he resigned the management of affairs to Donald, thane of Argyle; Cullen, thane of Athol; Murdac, thane of Galloway; and Conrith, thane of Murray. Under this delegated government, every thing fell into confusion, each regent favouring his own dependents, and endeavouring to extend his own power. Donald, lord of the isles, taking advantage of the public distractions, laid waste and plundered all Galloway, in which he was countenanced by Murdac. This melancholy state of public affairs affected Ethfin so sensibly, that he died of grief, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 762. Egbert was then king of the Northumbrians, and made war upon the Picts with such success, that he penetrated even as far as Kyle. After this, the two nations concluded a peace; and Onuust, son of Hungus, king of the Picts, in 756, joining his forces with those of Egbert, these princes besieged and took Dumbarton, the capital of Areclute, as it is called: this capture seems to have completed the destruction of the Cumbrian kingdom. The chronology of the ancient fragment of Pictish history coincides very remarkably with that of the Saxon, at this period.

EUGENE the eighth, Murdac's son, who succeeded Ethfin, was a brave, resolute prince, and continued the peace concluded by his predecessors with the Picts, Britons, and Saxons, that he might the more effectually remedy the public transactions of his own kingdom. He defeated, took prisoner, and put to death, the lord of the Isles, together with his confederate the thane of Galloway; and punished the other regents,

who had abused their power. Perhaps he was too virtuous for the times he lived in; for we learn, that having restored peace and tranquillity to his kingdom, he grew indolent, avaricious, and tyrannical, till at last he was put to death by his nobles, for passing an unjust sentence upon a rich man, in 763, and was buried with his predecessors at Icolm-kill.

FERGUS the third (by some called the second) the son of Ethfin, next ascended the Scottish throne. Fordun and later authors inform us, that his wife poisoned him in a fit of jealousy; that seeing several innocent persons suffering, and put to the torture, for her crime, she was struck with remorse, though none suspected her; and openly confessing her guilt, she plunged a dagger into her own breast in a public assembly of the people. Fordun, however, paints this fact in a very different light from Boece and Buchanan: he takes notice of the infamous sensuality of the king, described by them; but represents the queen bewailing him as a loving husband, and dying with remorse, acknowledging herself worthy of the most public and excruciating death. Fergus was murdered in the third year of his reign, which answers to that of our Lord 766, and was succeeded by SOLVAITH, or SELVAC, son of Eugene VIII. This prince is extolled by Buchanan, after Boece, for the royal qualities he discovered during the first year of his reign. Fordun observes very justly, from the Saxon and English Chronicles, that the affairs of the Northumbrians were, at this time, in so miserable a situation, that had the Scots, even without the assistance of the Picts, exerted themselves, they might have retaken all the territory they had lost in the north of England; "but, says he, nothing really memorable was performed, excepting a few petty inroads." About the third year of his reign, Solvaith was attacked by a violent gout, or rheumatism; and his dominions were invaded by Donald Bane, or the White, who styled himself king of the Ebudae. Solvaith, when disabled from taking the field in person, gave the command of his army to Cullan and Duchar, the thanes of Argyle and Athol, who defeated the invader, and drove him into a pass, where he and his followers were all put to death.

Gyllequham, who was confederated with Donald, invaded Galloway at the same time, and underwent the same fate. After reigning twenty one years, Solvaith died, in 787, worn out with pain and infirmity.

CHARLES the GREAT, commonly called CHARLEMAGNE, was then in the zenith of his reputation for the wonderful exploits he was performing against the infidels. Though it is foreign to this history to descend to particulars, yet he more than once intended to have passed over to Britain, had he not been prevented by his wars upon the continent. As the Scots, at this period, were renowned for their learning and orthodoxy, and still more for the zeal they manifested, as we shall see hereafter, in preaching the gospel to the Pagans; we can entertain no doubt of their being highly esteemed by Charles, who certainly formed close connexions with Northumberland; and was jealous that Offa, king of Mercia, the most powerful prince then in Britain, secretly sent succours to his Saxon enemies. It likewise appears indisputably, that Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, managed a correspondence between Charles and the other Saxon princes, who were also jealous of Offa; but the latter made such concessions to the see of Rome, as entirely reconciled the French monarch to his conduct and person. Charles, however, had other reasons for cultivating a friendship with the Scots. The Danish Pagans, who were his enemies, had lately made several descents upon the coasts of Northumberland, great part of which had been recovered by the Scots, though we are ignorant of the particulars; and it was by no means the French king's interest that they should form settlements there. Possibly he might be a little influenced by Alcuin, his favourite and preceptor, and who undoubtedly was a Briton, if not a Scotchman. It is very certain, that a Scotch ambassador was at his court, after his glorious return from Italy; and it is equally true, that he was fond of concluding alliances with Christian princes, however insignificant they were in other respects. Upon the whole, though I am far from professing myself an advocate for the authenticity of the league between Charles and the Scots; yet



it is carrying historical scepticism to an extreme to doubt that he profited by their assistance ; nay, that they became his allies, upon certain terms stipulated on both sides.

The successor to Solvaith was the famous ACHAIUS, son of Ethfin. Upon his accession to the throne, the Irish (though I rather suspect the Danes, who were, at this time, settling plantations in Ireland) made a descent upon Kintire, from whence they were expelled by the valour of the inhabitants. Achaius, whose disposition, like those of his late predecessors, was pacific, was then employed in the civil regulations of his kingdom, and in sending an embassy to accommodate matters with the Irish ; but the latter were so exasperated, that they rejected all the terms proposed, and invaded some of the islands of Scotland, which they ravaged. In their return home, their ships were attacked by a storm, and few of them reached land. The Ursperg Chronicle mentions an army which Charles the Great sent, about this time, to England, under Andolph, who compelled the English Saxons to give him hostages for their good behaviour, whom Andolph, presented to Charles, at Worms, upon his return. Was this fact uncontroversial, nothing is more natural than to suppose, that the famous league between Achaius and Charles was first projected by Andolph, and afterwards completed by the Scottish king. We learn from foreign authorities, that the league was concluded in the year 790 ; and that both the king and the nobles were so struck with the grandeur of Charles, that they gave him the title of *Lord* in their letters, subscribing themselves ‘ your humble servants ;’ a compliment often paid to great princes long after this period, though without conferring any claim of superiority over those who bestowed it. The Scotch writers, on the contrary, pretend, that Charles sent ambassadors to Scotland, requesting Achaius to send him some learned men to propagate languages and sciences in his kingdom, and offering him his friendship. Achaius convened a council of his nobility upon the occasion, when some of them, particularly Colman, thane of Mar, were of opinion that the friendship of the Saxons would be of greater utility

to the Scots than an alliance with Charles. These were answered by Alban, thane of the isles, whose opinion was espoused by the majority; and the league with Charles was accordingly concluded. Notwithstanding these appearances of authenticity, however, I strongly suspect the whole detail of this transaction to be a French forgery; especially as the league itself carries evident marks of more modern times, and is calculated to cherish that connection between France and Scotland, which afterwards proved so very beneficial to the former. If we may believe Fordun, (whose credit ought to have considerable weight) Gilmer, or, as other historians call him, William, brother to Achaius, was, previous to this alliance, one of the chief officers under Charles; but modern writers suppose, that after the conclusion of the league he was sent over with four thousand troops to the assistance of Charles: others say, with more appearance of truth, that the first auxiliaries were furnished by the French monarch.

William, after performing many glorious actions against the infidels, embraced a religious life, and founded a number of monasteries for his countrymen in Germany and other places. This fact seems to be well ascertained; and in Paulus Æmilius's history of the French achievements, we meet with the following very remarkable expressions: "The Saxons being overcome, that their name, by degrees, might be extinguished, Charles bestowed the honours of magistracy upon strangers, but principally upon the Scots, whom he made use of for the great fidelity he found in them." After this period, the history of this reign becomes somewhat obscure, through the great confusion of names. We are told that Achaius married Fergusiana, daughter to Hungus king of the Picts, and that he lent his father-in-law ten thousand Scots to repel the invasions of Athelstan. That no such king of England as Athelstan lived at this time, is certain; neither is he mentioned by Fordun. If there is any truth in the above facts, they must belong to another Athelstan, or some Saxon or Danish general; but, indeed, the history of this transaction is attended with many difficulties. We are likewise informed, that after

Hungus had received the ten thousand auxillaries, he entered Northumberland, from whence he carried off a great booty; but being pursued by Athelstan with a superior army, he was overtaken near Haddington, and encompassed in such a manner, that he expected nothing less than the destruction of himself and his troops: in the night-time, however, he received in a dream an assurance, from St. Andrew, of victory. Some exhalations which appeared in the air next day in the form of a cross struck the Scots and Picts, who being amazingly inspired when Hungus acquainted them with his dream, defeated their enemies, and killed Athelstan at a place called to this day Athelstan's Ford. Though the Saxon Chronicle takes no notice of this incident, it may be founded in history; and it is not impossible that Hungus might defeat some free-booter of that name. For my own part, I confess I can by no means consider the whole of this story as a fiction, because it has been supported by uninterrupted tradition, which fixes the time when the Scots and Picts chose that apostle for their tutelary saint; and nothing was more common in those times than such wondrous revelations, one of which Hungus invented on this emergency. We have nothing farther to add to this account of the reign of Achaius, except that he died in peace in the year of our Lord 819, after having wore the Scottish diadem thirty-two years, and was succeeded by his nephew Conval, though he had a son, who had commanded his armies with reputation. Of CONVAL we know no more than that he reigned in peace five years, and then, according to Fordun, Dongal, the son of Solvaith, ascended to the throne.

The good harmony between the Scots and Picts began now to be interrupted by events which should naturally have cemented it. There is great reason for believing, that under Achaius the Pictish territories were much more extensive than those of the Scots, who were still confined to the western parts. On the other hand, the Scots seem to have possessed a more adventurous and warlike disposition, and were fond of serving in foreign armies; a circumstance which accounts for the superiority they enjoyed in the fields over the Picts. The possessions of the Scots at this time, which were denominated



the kingdom of Dalrietae, or Dalriadae, included all the western islands, together with the counties of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdale, Kyle, Kintyre, Lochaber, and a part of Braidalmain. The Pictish kingdom comprehended all the rest of the north of Scotland, from the Friths to the Orkneys, exclusive, as we have seen, of a great part of Northumberland. These observations are necessary to understand the succeeding part of this history.

Some of the subjects of Dongal being disgusted with his government, applied to Alpin to assert his hereditary right to the throne; but it plainly appears, that the collateral was the legal succession at this time to the crown of Scotland. Alpin, instead of accepting this invitation, disclosed it to Dongal, who treated him with the greatest affection and tenderness, and in consideration of the merits of his father Achaius, was willing, if the states of his king would consent, to resign the crown in his favour. Alpin, however, contented himself with clearing up his own innocence. The conspirators, on the other hand, accused him of endeavouring to debauch them from their duty; but Dongal assembling an army, apprehended and punished as many of them as he could find. About this time Hungus died. His eldest son Dorstolog was murdered by his second son Egan, who in his turn was assassinated by his brother's widow. The male line of the Pictish monarchy thus becoming extinct, the succession to it was claimed by the Scots. Fordun is by no means positive as to the ground of this claim, which he conjectures to have been founded upon the words of Bede, confutes itself; and the honest historian has recourse to the just judgments of God upon the Picts to explain the extinction of their monarchy. Later historians, to solve this difficulty, ascribe that great revolution to the establishment of hereditary right to the Pictish throne in the person of Alpin, who was son to the daughter of Hungus. If this fact could be clearly proved, there would be no difficulty in vindicating the claim of the Scotch prince. An excellent critic in history, who, in other cases, gives no quarter to modern authorities, when they clash with his system, is here

willing to admit that Boece and Buchanan might have had some authorities, which are now lost, for asserting this hereditary right in Alpin; but Fordun tells us, that Dongal claimed the kingdom of the Picts in his own right, by virtue of the antient convention we have mentioned.

That such a claim was preferred appears from all histories, as well as that it was rejected by the Picts, who resolving to maintain the independency of their crown, chose for their king FERET, or WRED, one of their greatest nobles. Dongal sent an ambassador to remonstrate against this election, and, according to Boece, to represent Alpin's right; but the Picts refused him an audience when they understood the purpose of his message. Upon the ambassador's return Dongal raised an army: before he had recourse however to force, he sent a fresh embassy to accommodate matters; but the ambassadors were met on the road by a herald at arms, who in the name of king Feret commanded them to proceed no farther, and to retire from his dominions. Every thing was now ready for the campaign, when, according to Boece, Dongal was drowned in crossing the Spey, though Fordun leaves it doubtful whether he was not killed in war.

ALPIN mounted the throne of Scotland in 831. Being at the head of an army, he immediately marched against Feret, who was encamped near Forfar. A most bloody battle ensued; and though the Picts lost their king, the Scots had no reason to boast of the victory. Alpin next morning, upon reviewing his army, perceived he had lost one-third of it; however, he plundered the camp of the Picts, who had retired from the field of battle, so that he returned to his own dominions with the air of a conqueror. The Picts chose Brudus, Feret's son, to succeed him, but put him to death in the first year of his reign, on account of his stupidity and indolence. Such was the veneration they entertained for the father, that they next chose Keneth, his brother, who proved a coward, and such as was killed by a countryman, who did not know him, as he was flying from the enemy. Keneth was succeeded by another Brudus, a brave and spirited prince. Resolving

to risk all in support of his independency, he raised a great army. Before he entered upon hostilities he offered to make a peace with the Scots; but Alpin rejected all terms, except a total surrender of his crown. The Pictish monarch upon this sent a message to Edwin, king of Northumberland, with a large sum of money, to engage him as auxiliary against the Scots. Edwin, whose real name probably was Eandred, took the money, and promised the assistance; but afterward pretended that he was engaged in civil wars of his own, and that the king of France had interposed his authority in favour of the Scots.

This disappointment did not discourage Brudus, who marched with his army from Dunkeld into Angus, where that of the Scots lay near Dundee. We are told of a stratagem used up on this occasion by Brudus, who ordered all the useless attendants, and even the women, to mount on horseback, and shew themselves to the enemy as soon as the battle should begin. This stratagem, it is said, had the desired effect; for in the heat of the engagement, while both sides were fighting with the most determined fury, the sight of this supposed reinforcement threw the Scots into a panic, from which all Alpin's efforts could not recover them. They immediately fled, and lost more men in the pursuit than in the battle. Alpin and the chief of his nobility were taken prisoners; the latter were put to death on the field of battle, but the king was ignominiously bound, and all ransom being refused for his life, he was beheaded at a place which from his name is, at present, called Pitalpy, but in former times Bas-alpine, which in the Gael or Celtic languages signifies, "The death of Alpin." His head was afterwards exposed from a wall upon a pole.

Alpin, said by Fordun to have been a proud as well as rash prince, left a son, KENNETH, who was the first sole king of that part of the island properly called Scotland; and from him we have a clear deduction of that royal family. As he appears to have been of age at the time of his father's murder, and was a brave and accomplished prince, the Scots did



not hesitate to receive him as his father's successor in the throne. The conduct of the Picts, at this time, shewed them deserving of the worthless character given them by Fordun. Not contented with the barbarous murder of Alpin, they made a law, and confirmed it with an oath, that it should be death for any man to propose a peace with the Scots, whom they doomed to total extermination. This fact appears more credible, when we consider the base manner in which Alpin and his nobles were murdered. Some of the wisest of the nobility were expelled the assembly for opposing this law. The Picts being thus elated, their nobles disdained all subordination; factions began to be formed among them; and while they were marching against the Scots, they fought a bloody battle among themselves. Their king endeavoured to appease them; but finding it impracticable, he disbanded his army, and soon after dying of grief, was succeeded by his brother, Drasken, who also failed in his endeavours to compose civil dissensions of his country, by which the Scots gained some respite; and a few of them who spoke the Pictish language, had the address to carry off Alpin's head from the capital of the Picts, supposed to have been Abernethy.

Though Kenneth was very intent upon revenging his father's death, he found his nobles entirely averse to the renewal of the war with the Picts. According to Fordun, however, who is followed by Boece and others, he conquered their obstinacy by inviting them to an entertainment, and introducing into the hall where they slept, in the middle of the night, a person cloathed in fish-skins, or robes which made so luminous an appearance, that they took him for an angel, especially when he thundered into their ears through a long tube prepared for that purpose, a dreadful peal of denunciations, if they did not immediately declare war against the Picts, the murderers of their late king. Fordun has related the story in this manner, but Boece has introduced several of those luminous messengers, who all of a sudden disappeared. The story, upon the whole, when we consider the age, is more ridiculous than incredible. Next morning, all mouths were filled

with the angelic apparition, and Kenneth swore he had seen it likewise. A resolution was immediately taken to raise an army against the Picts. The juncture was favourable for Kenneth on account of the popular fury which raged against the Picts for Alpin's murder, and some descents made by the Danes upon their territories. The Picts, however, were not deficient in making necessary preparations to defend themselves. They had, by this time, obtained some auxiliaries, and Kenneth having, if we may credit Fordun, passed the vast ridge of mountains called Drumalban, gave "The death of Alpin," to his soldiers as their military word. The first battle is said to have been fought near Stirling, where the Picts were entirely defeated, being deserted by their English auxiliaries; tho' this last circumstance is contradicted by the above-mentioned historian. As to Drusken, he escaped by the goodness of his horse. In a few days after the battle, he applied to Kenneth for peace, who, like his father Alpin, demanded a surrender of all the Pictish dominions. We see no reason for departing from the narrative of Boece, as to the remainder of Kenneth's campaigns against the Picts. He soon conquered Mearns, Angus, and Fife; but while he was marching against Stirling, he received intelligence of an universal insurrection of the Picts, who cut off his garrisons, and were again in arms with Drusken at their head. Kenneth was then encamped near Scone, and the Picts under Drusken coming up, both armies drew out in order of battle. Drusken, however, demanded an interview (to save the effusion of blood) with Kenneth, which was granted him. The Pictish prince rejected the terms offered by the king of the Scots, which were, to yield to him in absolute sovereignty Fife, Mearns, and Angus, both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

The army of the Scots was composed of three divisions; the first was commanded by one Bar; the second by Dongald, a nobleman; the third by Donald the king's brother; and Kenneth put himself at the head of a body of cavalry, as a corps de reserve. The engagement was very desperate, but the Picts were again defeated with great slaughter, and among

the number of the slain was their king Drusken, who is said to have renewed the engagement seven different times. His armour was presented to Kenneth, who sent it to be hung up at Icolm-kill. The Scottish nobility would have been glad of some repose after their fatigues: but there is some reason to believe that Kenneth won them over by dividing among their leaders the conquered lands of the Picts. The chief of those leaders are said to have been Angus, Mearns, and Fife, who gave their own names to their different divisions that were allotted them.

Though there can be no doubt of the barbarities and bloodshed which happened at this time between the Scots and the Picts, and that Kenneth was highly exasperated at the latter, yet we cannot, with the Scotch historians, admit of his having exterminated the whole race, nor of his declaring this resolution to his people, who all applauded it. It was perhaps sound policy in him to give the Picts no respite in the prosecution of the war, and we accordingly find that he besieged their chief town, which the Scotch writers call Camelon; but unless by his appellation is meant Abernethy, we know not where it was situated. Kenneth met with a vigorous resistance; but at last he granted the besieged a truce for three days, which they employed in preparing for a vigorous sally, in which they were with great difficulty driven back to the city, after killing six hundred of their enemies. The Scots renewed their efforts, but the Picts defended themselves with great bravery for about four months, though they laboured under all the miseries of famine. At last, however, the place was taken by surprize, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. The reduction of Camelon was soon followed by that of the Maiden-Castle, now called the Castle of Edinburgh, which was abandoned by its garrison, who took refuge in Northumberland.

This period is generally fixed upon as the end of the Pictish government in Scotland; but to imagine that Kenneth exterminated the whole race, is not only absurd, but contrary to the plainest evidence; for the Picts are expressly mention-



ed by old writers, as a people existing three hundred years after this time. Such a massacre would have been as impossible as infernal; nor do we meet with any well attested accounts in history of a numerous people, like the Picts, being totally and finally extirpated. The most probable opinion seems to be, that the Scots becoming masters of Pictland by conquest, their language superseded that of its old inhabitants; but we cannot allow that the bulk of the nation are composed of the descendants of those conquerors. The history of almost every country in Europe proves, that the victors impose their own names upon their conquests; that of Gaul, for instance, being changed into France, from its being conquered by the Franks.

The conquest of Pictland has so engrossed the attention of all the Scotch historians, from Fordun down to Buchanan, that they have omitted the other illustrious actions of Kenneth's reign, though they are mentioned in one of the oldest records of the Scotch affairs now extant, and confirmed by Giraldus Cambrensis and Ralph of Chester, two English historians of undoubted authority. According to these writers it seems highly probable, that Kenneth waged war at the same time with the Picts and the Saxons. The famous Chronicle quoted by Camden and archbishop Usher expressly tells us, that Kenneth reigned two years in Dalriadae, or the kingdom of the Scots, before he attacked the Picts; and that he invaded the Saxons six times, and burnt Dunbar and Melross. This is confirmed by the two English historians already mentioned, who add, that Kenneth was master of all the territories from the Friths to the Tweed: on the other hand, the Britons burnt Dumblain, and the Danes ravaged Pictland as far as Dunkeld. I mention these circumstances, because, however obscurely they are expressed, they prove, that other people besides the Scots and the Picts, were engaged in this war. Before we dismiss this founder of the Scotch monarchy, we cannot omit mentioning the difficulties which Fordun lies under as to the extirpation of the Picts. At first, he says, that not only their kings and leaders were destroyed, "but, continues he, we read, that their race and generation, and even their language, failed."

The reader will judge how far these expressions may imply, that the people and the language of the Picts disappeared, by being incorporated with those of the Scots. That this is their sense, seems evident from what he afterwards relates, of Kenneth having taken under his protection the harmless part of the people; that he put to the sword those who were in arms, but that he likewise received the submissions of many. Upon the whole, there can no doubt remain that Kenneth, as is usual with other kings and conquerors who set up claims of blood, destroyed, as far as he could, all the Picts who refused to acknowledge his title, and gave them no quarter in the field. This seems to be the opinion of Buchanan himself in his preliminary discourse, which is the best part of his history.

Kenneth is said to have been the author of the MacAlpine laws, so called from his name. We are now entirely ignorant of the municipal laws of Scotland before his time, which were composed by Ethfin, son to Eugene with the crooked nose, and are mentioned in the Chronicle I have so often quoted. Those attributed to Kenneth are as follows:

" I. That in every shire of the kingdom there should be a judge, for deciding of controversies, well seen in the laws; and that their sons should be brought up in the study of the laws. II. That the laws of the kingdom shall be kept by them; and if any of them shall be convicted of laese majesty, or wrongous judgment, they shall be hanged. III. He that is convicted of theft, shall be hanged; and he that is guilty of slaughter, beheaded. IV. Any woman convicted of a capital crime, shall be either drowned or buried alive. V. He that blasphemeth God, or speaks disrespectfully of his saints, of his king, or of his chieftains, shall have his tongue cut out. VI. He that makes a lye to his neighbour's prejudice, shall forfeit his sword, and be excluded the company of all honest men. VII. All persons suspected of any crime, shall suffer the inquest of seven wise and judicious men, or of any number of persons above that, provided the number be odd. VIII. All oppressors, robbers, and invaders of other people's properties, shall be beheaded. IX. All vagabonds, sturdy beggars,

and other idle persons, that may, and do not, gain their livelihood by some honest calling, shall be burnt upon the cheek, and whipt with rods. X. The wife shall not be punished for her husband's fault; but the man shall be punished for his wife's fault, if he knows of it; and if she be not his wife, but his concubine, she shall be punished with the same punishment that the man deserveth for his crime. XI. He that ravisheth a virgin, unless she desire him in marriage, shall be beheaded. XII. He that defiles another man's bed, shall be put to death, with the woman; unless she has been ravished. XIII. He that ravisheth a woman, shall be beheaded; and the woman declared innocent. XIV. He that is injurious to his father, by any member of his body, shall have that member cut off, then hanged, and remain unburied above ground. XV. He that is a man-slayer, born dumb, or unthankful to his father, shall succeed to no heritage. XVI. All witches, jugglers, and others that have any paction with the devil, shall be burt alive. XVII. No seed shall be sown, till it be first well cleansed from all noxious grains. XVIII. He who suffers his land to be over-run with poisonous and hurtful weeds, shall pay, for the first fault, an ox to the common good; for the second, ten; and for the third, he shall be forfeited of his lands. XIX. If you find your comrade and friend killed in the field, bury him; but if he be an enemy, you are not bound to do it. XX. If any beast be found straying in the fields, restore him, either to the owner, the Tocioderach, or searcher after thieves, or to the priest of the parish; and whoever keeps him up for three days, shall be punished as a thief. XXI. Who finds any thing that is lost, shall cause it to be proclaimed publickly, that it may be restored to the owner; otherwise he shall be punished as a thief. XXII. He who beats his adversary before a judge, shall lose his plea; and the person beat shall be absolved. XXIII. If your neighbour's kine fall a fighting with yours, and if any of them happen to be killed, if it be known whose cow it was that did it, the homyl cow (or the cew that wants horns) shall be blamed for it; and the owner of that cow shall be answerable for his neigh-



bour's damage. XXIV. A sow that eats her pigs, shall be stoned to death, and none be permitted to eat of her flesh. XXV. A sow that eats corn, or furrows up another man's land, shall be killed without redress to the owner. XXVI. All other beasts that shall be found eating their neighbour's corn or grass, shall be pointed, till the owner give satisfaction for the loss that his neighbour has sustained. XXVII. Altars, churches, oratories, images of saints, chapels, priests, and all ecclesiastical persons, shall be held in veneration. XXVIII. Festival and solemn days, fasts, vigils, and all other ceremonies instituted by the church, shall be punctually observed. XXIX. He who injures a churchman, either by word or deed, shall be punished with death. XXX. All sepulchres shall be held in great veneration, and a cross put upon them, that they may not be trampled upon. XXXI. The place where any man is killed or buried, shall be untilld seven years. XXXII. Every man shall be buried according to his quality. If he be a nobleman that has done great actions for the common-wealth, he shall be buried after this manner: Two horsemen shall pass before him to the church; the first mounted upon a white horse, cloathed in the defunct's best apparel, and bearing his armour: the other shall be upon a black horse, in a mourning apparel; and when the corps is to be interred, he who is in mourning apparel shall turn his back to the altar, and lamentably bewail the death of his master; and then return the same way that he came: the other shall offer his horse and armour to the priest; and then inter the corps with all the rites and ceremonies of the church."

Though I have given the substance of these laws as I find them in Scotch authors, yet many of them are thought to be of a more modern date than the days of Kenneth, ingrafted upon his laws. They principally serve to shew the great power and prerogatives which churchmen formerly enjoyed; and those parts are perhaps more modern institutions. The customs prescribed in burying noblemen were found so inconvenient and capricious, that they were afterwards commuted for a pecuniary consideration of five pounds. Kenneth is said,

at the time of his death, to have been possessed of all the north part of the island as far as Adrian's wall, and to have reigned in peace sixteen years after his subduction of the Picts. According to the short Chronicle I have already mentioned, he died at Fort Teviot, called there Forthwintabaicht, of a fistula. This fort had been one of the Pictish palaces, situated near Dupplin, in Perthshire, where the place still retains its name. Nothing fills us with a higher idea of the political character of this great prince, than his removing the famous stone (now to be seen in Westminster-abbey) which the Scots looked upon as the palladium of their monarchy, from Argyleshire to Scone; a place which had been held in the highest veneration by the Picts, and pitched upon by Kenneth as the place of inauguration for his successors. The situation of the place, in the heart of a fine country, and in the neighbourhood of Perth, which was a kind of key to the conquests of Kenneth, contributed to the attachment the Scots had to the Fatal Stone, as it was called. Before the end of Kenneth's reign the surviving Picts, towards the North, seem to have been entirely reconciled to his government.

C H A P. X.

*Of the Scots affairs from the death of KENNETH MACALPINE to the beginning of the reign of KENNETH the third, from Anno Domini 854 to A. D. 970.*

THE difference among the Scots writers concerning the history and character of Donald, who succeeded his brother Kenneth MacAlpine in the throne, ought to caution us against placing an implicit faith in the histories of Boece and Buchanan, and those who transcribed from them. By those authors Donald is represented as a monster of luxury and prodigality, disregarding of advice, and as encouraging the exiled Picts, by his dissipated course of life, to apply to Osbreth and Ella, two Saxon kings, for assistance to be restored to their country, which they proposed to render tributary, to the

Saxons. The two kings accordingly invaded Scotland with a powerful army, but were defeated by Donald, who recovered Berwick, which had been taken by the English, and afterwards seized upon the ships and provisions of the enemy. The former being laden with wine, the Scottish king and his officers indulged themselves too freely in drinking; upon which Osbreth rallying his troops, surprized them, cut in pieces twenty thousand of the common soldiers, took the king and most of his nobility prisoners, and carried them about as public objects of hatred and contempt. Osbreth pursued his blow, conquered all the territory between Adrian's and Antonine's wall, and would have made a descent upon the coasts of Fife, had not his ships been dispersed by a storm. His land-forces, however, marched as far as Stirling, intending to cross the Forth on the bridge built at that town; but finding his army weakened, he concluded a peace with the Scots, who stipulated that they should yield up all the lands between the two praetentures. Thus the boundaries of the Scotch dominions towards Stirling was the Forth, and towards Dumbarton, the Clyde; the Forth was from that time to be called the Scotch Sea; and it was made capital for any Scotchman to set his foot on English ground. They were to erect no forts near the English confines, and to pay an annual tribute of a thousand pounds, besides giving up sixty sons of their chief nobility as hostages. We are farther told, the Osbreth erected a coinage at Stirling, a name which distinguishes the English silver to this day; and that he raised a cross on the bridge of Stirling, with an inscription in Latin, signifying it to be the common boundary between the Britons and the Scots\*. After this, the Picts, finding that they had been neglected in the treaty between the English and the Scots, fled to Norway, while those who remained in England were massacred. This inglorious peace furnished Donald with a fresh opportunity of indulging his vices; upon which his subjects deeming him irreclaimable,

\* *Anglos a Scotis separat Crux ista remotis:*

*Arma hic stant Bruti, stant Scoti sub hac Cruce tuti.*



shut him up in prison, where he put an end to his own life in 858.

Not to mention the universal silence of the Saxon and English Chronicles as to those glorious conquests of their princes, this whole narrative carries with it the appearance of imposture. Osbreth, supposing him to have been a king of Northumberland, must have been a Saxon; nor do we find that any tribe of Britons, called by that name, then existed in the north of England. But not to insist upon mere improbabilities, Boece is convicted of forgery by the positive testimony of Fordun and the author of the before-mentioned Chronicle, who have antiquity to support their assertions. According to the former, Donald was a hero, and had obtained frequent victories over the Picts. After his accession to the throne, he cultivated friendship with all the neighbouring kings and princes. Some of the Picts had fled to Northumberland, where they were persuaded by the inhabitants, who joined them, to break the truce upon Kenneth's death. The loyal Picts, however, (a fresh proof that the race was not exterminated) and the steadiness of the Scotch king, defeated the efforts of those enemies, all of whom were that very year destroyed. The author of the Chronicle informs us, that Donald reigned four years; that the Guydhels, by whom we imagine he means the Picts, the Caledonians, and the few Britons who might still remain in Scotland, complied with the king in his palace of fort Teviot the laws of Ethfin, the son of Eugene with the crooked nose; and that he died in his palace of Belachor. Winton, who likewise wrote before Boece, agrees in the same character of this prince; and indeed there is nothing more natural than to suppose, that, having succeeded to the kingdom of the Picts, he would gratify his nephew's subjects by a code of laws, which, though now lost, were perhaps favourable to their nation and customs.

Upon the death of Donald, CONSTANTINE, his nephew, the son of Kenneth MacAlpine, succeeded to the throne. In his time, Denmark and the northern nations continued to send over great numbers of their inhabitants to Scotland as

well as England; but the Saxon Chronicle and the English historians having transmitted very few particulars as to their progress in Scotland, we must therefore, for some time, depend on the Scotch writers. Upon the landing of a body of these emigrants in the north, Constantine offered them a reception in his harbours, as well as provisions for their money. This, together with the state of their countrymen in England, whom they assisted, procured the Scotch king some respite. This prince finding his nobles very refractory, probably on account of the indulgence extended to the Picts during the last reign, convened an assembly of the states, who demanded an abrogation of those laws. In the mean time, Ewen of the isles broke out into rebellion, and seized the castle of Dunstaffage; but this insurrection was soon quelled, and the rebel put to death.

During those transactions, the Picts who had fled to Denmark prevailed with his Danish majesty to send his two brethren, Hungar and Hubba, to recover the Pictish dominions from Constantine. These princes accordingly landed on the coast of Fife, where they committed the most horrid barbarities; for they even murdered the ecclesiastics who took refuge in the island of May, at the mouth of the Forth. Constantine soon put himself at the head of an army, and defeated that division of the Danes commanded by Hubba, near the water of Leven; but afterwards attacking that under Hungar, he was in his turn totally defeated; and being taken prisoner, was carried to a cove or cave, since called the Devil's cave, and there beheaded. The monuments of Danish antiquity, still to be seen in the county of Fife, leave no room to doubt that it was the scene of many bloody wars between these people and the Scots: the vestiges of the trenches appear near the place of battle, even to this day; and by the common people are called the Danes Dikes. The Scots are said to have lost ten thousand men in this action; and Constantine, after reigning sixteen years, suffered death in the year 874.

Fordun asserts, that some Danes were settled in Scotland before the last mentioned descent, who lived in tolerable good

correspondence with the Scots, till the Picts, who were not yet thoroughly subdued, persuaded them to join the invasion. The same historian presents us with a more striking proof than any we have yet instanced, that the Picts were then subsisting as a people under Constantine; for he informs us, that prince was betrayed by the Picts whom he had rashly employed in his army, and who proved like serpents in his bosom; that they fled upon the first onset; and, being followed by others, the king was left alone, surrounded, taken, and put to death by his enemies; who immediately after their victory, returned aboard their ships, and the Scots carried their king's body to Icolm-kill, where they interred it. The little Chronicle mentions a war carried on between Constantine and the Irish, who appear to have invaded Pictland likewise; (and this is by no means incredible) but that in the third year of the war, Amlaib, the Irish king, was killed by the Scotch monarch in another invasion; that the war between the Danes and the Scots happened after his death, and that the former (whom the author calls Normans) passed a whole year in Pictland.

ETH, called the Swiftfoot from his agility, succeeded his brother Constantine. The little Chronicle says, that he performed nothing memorable; reigned but one year; and was killed at Inneroury. Fordun tells us, that his accession was disputed by Gregory, the son of Dongal; and that the nobility being divided, a battle was fought between the two parties, in which Eth was mortally wounded, in the first onset; but that he lived two months after, and was buried at Icolm-kill. Such is the account we have of this prince, from the oldest and most authentic records. Boece and later writers have represented him as voluptuous and indolent; as abandoning his dominions to the Danes, for which he was imprisoned by his subjects; and dying of grief on the third day of his confinement. These facts seem to be invented merely to justify the power subjects possess over kings. What allurements could a king of Scotland have in those days, to render him voluptuous, luxurious, and indolent!

GREGORY, deservedly surnamed the GREAT, was the succes-



for of Eth the Swiftfoot. The permission he allowed soon after his coronation at Seone, for the royal interment of his predecessor's body ; his passing an act of indemnity for all who had born arms against him ; and his restoring order and unanimity to his kingdom ; were the happy omens of his administration. The unheard-of cruelties committed by the Danes in England, and the inability of the Saxon princes, even of Alfred the Great, to protect their northern dominions, induced many of the inhabitants to put themselves under the protection of Gregory, and to pay him fealty and homage ; " because (says Fordun) they thought it better willingly to submit to the Catholic Scots, though enemies, than unwillingly to the Pagan infidels." Gregory having taken care, by several acts of munificence, to secure the clergy of his side, convened an assembly of his states at Forfar, whence, after making several regulations, he marched against the Picts, whom the Danes had left in possession of Fife. Unable to resist his power they went over to the Lothians, and from thence towards the north of England, to join their confederates the Danes, who were now in possession of York, and masters of all Northumberland. Their great general Rolio, predecessor to William the Conqueror, afterwards king of England, and himself the conqueror of Normandy, had made a descent upon England in his voyage to France ; but he found it already over-burdened with Danes. In 875, no fewer than three armies of those emigrants arrived from the continent ; but they were employed in the conquest of England, while Gregory passing the frith of Forth, drove their countrymen, and their Pictish allies, out of Lothian into Northumberland, though not before they had thrown a garrison into Berwick.

No sooner did Gregory appear before that town, than the Christian inhabitants, in consequence, no doubt, of the allegiance they had lately sworn, received him within their walls, when the Danish part of the garrison was put to the sword, and the Pictish made prisoners. From Berwic, Gregory pursued the Danes, under their leader Hardnute, into Northumberland, where he defeated them ; and having expelled them

from that province, he passed the winter in Berwick. The Saxon Chronicle, and the English historians, take no notice of these particulars; but the truth is, they every where seem to be prepossessed against the Scots; and very probably, considering the distracted state of England at that time, they had no opportunities of being informed of what passed in the northern parts of their country, at least not early enough to enter it upon their annals; for such is the form of their histories. It is however, certain, that a great friendship subsisted between Alfred and Gregory; and that the former agreed to yield to the latter, all the lands which had once belonged to the Scots and Picts between the two praetentures. Early in the spring, after the defeat of Hardnute (as he is called, but erroneously, for his name was Halden) Gregory took the field against the Cumbrian Britons, who had recovered Dumbarton and the adjacent provinces, which had belonged to their ancestors, formerly expelled by the Scots and Picts, Britons, and the Welch of Strathclud. This seems to have induced Gregory to march against him. The Britons being as unable as unwilling, perhaps, to oppose him, soon agreed to an accommodation; by which they ceded all the lands they possessed formerly belonging to the Scots; and Gregory undertook to protect them from the Danes. This accommodation, however, must be chiefly attributed to the terror of the Danish arms; for no sooner had Alfred the Great defeated the Danes in South-Britain, than Constantine, king of the Cumbrians (the greatest part of whose subjects were originally Picts) violated the convention formerly concluded with Gregory, and invaded Annandale; but being encountered by the Scotch king, he was defeated and killed near Lochmaben. Constantine was succeeded by his brother Herbert, who would have gladly adhered to the terms of the late treaty; but his offers were rejected by Gregory, who made himself master of Cumberland and Westmoreland, which appear to have been then possessed by the Cumbrian Britons and Picts. According to the Scotch historians, and we meet with no antiënt writers who contradict it, this peace was confirmed by Alfred; though

we are not positive, whether he yielded the ceded countries to Gregory in sovereignty. It is, however, certain, that the state of Alfred's affairs, at that time, must have rendered it extremely inconvenient for him to have had any variance with Gregory.

A war next broke out between the Scots and the Irish, who had intimate connections with each other. The name of the king of Ireland, at this time, is said to have been Donach, a minor; but his authority was usurped by two of his noblemen, Brian and Corneil. Donach was nearly related to Gregory, who naturally declared himself against the two factious noblemen; and the Irish having, under pretence of making reprisals, invaded Galloway, he repelled them with loss to their ships, and afterwards passed over in person to Ireland. The two noblemen, who had before been enemies to each other, upon his landing joined their forces, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river Bane with Gregory, that he might be forced to return for want of provisions. Gregory found means, however, to get possession of an eminence, from whence he forced Brian's entrenchments, and killed that chief, with a number of his followers: upon which Corneil made a retreat into the more inaccessible parts of the island. After this, the Scotch king reduced Dungard and Pont; by which we are to understand Dundalk and Drogheda; but, on his march towards Dublin, he was opposed at the head of a great army by Corneil, who was defeated and killed by the Scots. Gregory then continued his rout to Dublin, where young Donach resided; but was met by a deputation, with bishop Cormac, in his vestments, at its head, who agreed to receive him into their city, and to put it under his protection. Fordun says, that he was the nearest in blood to the succession of Ireland; this, however, can be meant only after Donach: for upon his entering Dublin, Gregory declared himself guardian to the king, while under age; appointed a regency; and obliged them to swear that they never would admit into their land either a Dane or an English.



man, without his permission. He afterwards placed garrisons in the strongest fortresses of the kingdom, and returned to Scotland; but, when Donach came of age, Gregory recalled his troops. Though I pretend not to ascertain the several facts of this conquest of Ireland, as recited by Scotch writers, yet it seems indisputable that Gregory made such an expedition with great glory. Fordun even asserts, that he conquered all Ireland; and is supported by the ancient Register of the priory of St. Andrew's, a record of the greatest authenticity, as well as antiquity, of any of the historical monuments of Scotland, because it was undoubtedly written in the year 1251, almost forty years before Edward the first of England carried off the other Scotch archives. We have now only to add to the preceding account of Gregory's reign, that he was a great benefactor to the church, as will be seen in the ecclesiastical part of this history; that he faithfully sent back the hostages he had obliged the Irish to give him for their fidelity to Donach; that he built the city of Aberdeen, finished his glorious life at his castle of Dundore in the Garioch, in the year 892, and was buried with his ancestors at Icolmkill.

Gregory the Great was succeeded by Donald the third, son of Constantine, who imitated the virtues of his predecessor. The Scotch historians seem unanimous that Northumberland was, at this time, in possession of Donald; this, however, is contradicted by the best English authorities, which tell us, that ever since the year 883, it was governed by Guthred, who was of Danish extraction, but tributary to Alfred. We therefore have reason to believe, that the Danes recovered whatever acquisitions the late monarch had made in Northumberland, before the end of his reign; and that Alfred found it convenient for him to accept of their homage. Notwithstanding this, we find that Donald sent Alfred a body of troops, who did him considerable service, in his wars with the Danes. Donald's friendship was the more meritorious, as the Northumbrian Danes had offered to submit to him, provided he would join with them in opposing Alfred; but he refused all their terms, unless they became Christians. I

am warranted in the above conjecture by Fordun, who informs us, that the Danish king of Northumberland and East-Anglia (whom he calls Gurmund) had been baptized by means of Alfred; and that though Donald knew that both he and his family had sworn fealty to Alfred, yet he entered into an alliance with his son Ranald, and his family had sworn fealty to Alfred, yet he entered into an alliance with his son Ranald, and his kinsman Sitric, who succeeded him. While the Scotch monarch was settling those affairs in the south, his dominions in the North were harrassed by bands of robbers from Murray and Ross. Returning northward therefore, he bravely encountered them, killed some thousands, and totally defeated them near Forres. It seems not improbable, from the little Chronicle, that those robbers were no other than Danes from the continent, who, very possibly, might have been joined by some of the Picts of Ross and Murray. They appear to have been twice defeated by the Scots; first near Cullen in Barmshire, and afterwards at Forres.

All historians agree that Donald, after his victory at Forres, died there; and, perhaps, the extraordinary stone I have mentioned may be his monument. Fordun intimates, that his sudden death, which happened in the year 903, and the eleventh of his reign, was owing to poison, if not occasioned by his great fatigues. He was buried at Icolm-kill.

Constantine the third, the son of Eth Swiftfoot, next ascended the Scottish throne. Edward the Elder was then king of England, who had given the Danes repeated overthrows, till at last he compelled those who were settled in the southern parts of the island to submit to his government. We have no authentic history of the first years of this prince's administration; for his alliance with the Danes, which is the most remarkable transaction recorded of his reign, could not happen before his sixteenth year, according to the English histories, which may be now depended on. The truth is, Edward of England grew uneasy at seeing the Scots in possession of the northern provinces; and made such extravagant demands upon Constantine as induced him to enter into a confederacy

with the Danes, which, however, lasted only two years; for the Danes found it their interest to join with the English. Soon after, Edward made such preparations that the Danes applied to Constantine to renew the league between them. Fordun asserts, that Edward had already invaded the Danish possessions, and laid them waste for a whole month; upon which they applied in the most humble manner for Constantine's protection; which having obtained, they confirmed all their engagements by oath. Malcom, but according to the above-mentioned historian, Eugene, son of the late king Donald, was then presumptive heir to the crown of Scotland, to whom Constantine, I think with great wisdom, assigned the Scotch possessions between the two praetentures, as his appendage, on condition of his residing there, and defending them against all invaders. It was not long before Malcom was obliged to take the field, at the head of a body of troops, by way of auxiliaries to the Danes. The Scotch writers speak very obscurely of the event of Malcom's first campaign; their silence, however, is supplied by the English historians. Athelstan, who, according to the former, was the natural son of Edward, commanded for his father, at that time, in the north of England. Being in no condition to resist the confederate forces of the Scots and Danes, he remained upon the defensive to observe the motions of the former. Perceiving they were chiefly intent on plunder, he offered them battle; but politically retiring from the field, while the Scots were busy in pillaging his camp, Athelstan rallied his forces at an appointed signal, and cut both the Scots and Danes to pieces; prince Malcom himself being carried wounded out of the field.

This victory raised Edward to the summit of glory; and perhaps, Constantine, rather than endanger his hereditary dominions, might pay fealty to Edward for the territories he held south of Forth, as did Reginald, king of the Northumbrian Danes, and the Britons of Strathclyde. This is a fact mentioned by the Saxon Chronicle; but there is no reason for extending this homage, with some modern English writers, to the counties north of Forth. The Scotch historians, howe-



ver, are most unpardonably inaccurate in their accounts of this important period.

Upon the accession of Athelstan, Edward the Elder's son, to the crown of England, several conspiracies were formed against him, which encouraged the northern Danes to take arms, and surprized York and Davenport. They were headed by one of their princes, named Sithric, and became so formidable that Athelstan entered into a treaty with him, and gave him his sister in marriage: Sithric, however, did not long survive the nuptials. He was succeeded by his son Guthred, who endeavouring to throw off Athelstan's yoke, was defeated, and fled into Scotland. Athelstan then besieged York, which he took, and advancing to Scotland, demanded Constantine to deliver up Guthred, and his brother Anlaf. Constantine, not chusing either to provoke the English monarch, or to violate the sacred rights of hospitality, desired a conference with him; which took place at Dakers, in Northumberland. This meeting has been variously represented. The English historians pretend, that Constantine met Athelstan as a vassal; and not only surrendered to him the superiority of all his dominions, but gave him his son as an hostage for his obedience. We know of no son that Constantine then had, unless it was the infant to whom William of Malmesbury says, Athelstan stood godfather at the font. The disagreement, and indeed, the mistakes found among the English historians at this period, expose their credibility to the most unfavourable suspicions. It is most probable, that the two kings accommodated affairs at the conference, upon Constantine's promising to withdraw his protection from Guthred; who, with his brother Anlaf, was permitted to make his escape to Yorkshire, where he re-commenced hostilities. It is possible too, that Athelstan might think the Scots were privy to his conduct, and might resent it, by some incursions into their country; but no reputable English historian has, at this time, given Athelstan a complete victory over the Scots. He rather seems to have acted upon the defensive, a powerful confederacy being at this time formed against him; in which the Scots, the Northumbrian Danes,

the Irish, and the Welch, were parties. Anlaf, said to have been an Irish prince (but whether he was brother of Guthred is uncertain) was son-in-law to Constantine. The Welch were the first that took arms; but, not being supported, were quickly reduced by Athelstan, who directly marched against the Scots. This must have happened in the year 934, seven years after the interview between the English and Scotch monarchs at Dakers. What passed in the intermediate time between 934 and 937, or (according to the Saxon Chronicle) 938, does not appear either from the Scotch or English records; but the latter being the most authentic at this period, with which some of their authors were contemporaries, we follow them, rather than those of the Scots, who are destitute of precision.

It seems to be very probable, that Athelstan continued for some years at York, and that hostilities were in the mean time carried on by both parties. In the year 938, the combined army of the Scots and Irish, under Anlaf, landed at the mouth of the Humber, and advancing into the country, were joined by the prince of Cumberland, by Fordun called Eugene; and therefore we cannot see with what propriety he is named Malcolm by later historians, unless Eugene had been then dead, and was succeeded by a brother named Malcolm. Athelstan soon put himself at the head of an army, and both parties having encamped in sight of each other, they determined to come speedily to a decisive action. While they were making the necessary dispositions, Anlaf, in imitation of Alfred, who had undertaken a similar adventure some years before, disguised himself like a harper, a character which procured admission in those days into courts, houses, and camps, otherwise inaccessible; and entering the English camp, after entertaining Athelstan with his music, and observing the situation of his army, was dismissed with a noble reward. An English or Danish soldier who had served under Anlaf, recollected him through his disguise, watched his motions, and saw him bury, in a corner of the English camp, the gratuity he received. After Anlaf's departure, the soldier acquainted Athelstan with what he

had observed; and, by his advice, the king exchanged tents with a bishop, who was slain that very night in an irruption made by Anlaf, who thought he had killed the English monarch.

The Scotch historians take no notice of this fact, though it is unquestionably attested; and when all its circumstances are considered, I cannot look upon the attempt of Anlaf as much better than a designed assassination; perhaps, it contributed to the dreadful carnage which ensued next day.

Both armies were encamped at a place called Bruneford, and by Fordun, Brounyngfeld, near the Humber. It appears that the Scots expected to be joined by a body of Welch, as they had been by some auxiliary Danes under Froda. They were disappointed, however, through the vigilance of Athelstan, who understanding that the Irish, under Anlaf, had been terribly fatigued by their nocturnal irruption, and perhaps apprehensive that they might be joined by the Welch, resolved to attack them in their entrenchments. The Scots were commanded by Constantine; the Irish by Anlaf; the Cumbrians by their own prince; and the Danes by Froda. Athelstan had under him his brother Edmund, and Turketil, his favourite general. They entered the entrenchments of the confederates sword in hand; but the resistance they met with was chiefly from the Scots, who were attacked by the Londoners and Mercians, the flower of the English army, under Turketil. Constantine was in the most eminent danger of being killed, or taken prisoner; but he was saved by the loyalty and courage of his subjects, though the English writers pretend that he fell in the field. But it is universally agreed, that after a long dispute, Athelstan obtained a most complete victory.

The English historians mention this as the most bloody battle that had ever been fought in Britain; by which expression (as Buchanan well observes) they often mean that part of the island situated south of Adrian's praetenture. I know of no history who mentions the number of the slain, though it is agreed that the combined army lost five princes or chieftains, and seven generals; but we are ignorant of the distinction between those two denominations. Fordun mentions three prin-



ces, and nine generals ; and says, that the slain were innumerable. Athelstan's loss was likewise very considerable ; for, exclusive of a great number of his soldiers, his two cousin-germans, Edwin and Ethelwin, were killed. This battle proved fatal to the Scots ; for the active Athelstan invaded their country, over-ran its southern parts, and stript them of all the provinces they held south of Forth. The reader will find the ridiculous legends related by Brompton, and other English historians, concerning their monarch's expedition to Scotland, which render great part of his history very justly suspicious, though the facts here related are indisputable.

Constantine being now old, and dispirited by the misfortunes of his country, soon after the battle of Bruneford, resigned his crown to Malcolm, and retired to the monastery of the Culdees, at St. Andrew's, where he died, and was buried five years after, in the year 943.

The modern historians of Scotland seem to have erred greatly, in supposing this Malcolm, to have been the prince of the Cumbrians in the battle of Bruneford ; because the English writers have told us, that the name of the Cumbrian prince was Eugene, and that he was killed in that battle. This coincides with Fordun's relation ; and therefore, the Malcolm here mentioned, very probably, was brother to that Eugene, whom Ingulphus, as well as Fordun, expressly says, was then prince of Cumberland. Though the resignation of Constantine the third is fixed to the year 938, yet there is reason for believing, that this Malcolm did not assume the regal title till Constantine's death, in 943. The great progress which the the Danes had made in England against Edmund the first, son to Athelstan, proved of no small advantage to Malcolm, as it rendered him an useful ally to Edmund ; though the battle of Bruneford, and the subsequent losses of the Scots, in their wars with Athelstan, had reduced them so low, that Malcolm at first cultivated peace with all his neighbours. We understand from the English historians, that the people of Cumberland, after the battle of Bruneford, had chosen a prince of their own ; that Anlaf, the English Dane, having escaped

to Ireland, after that engagement, was recalled from thence by the Northumbrians, upon the death of Athelstan; and that upon his arrival, he recovered all Northumberland, and made a very considerable progress to the southward. This proved an additional inducement for Edmund to strengthen his connections with Malcolm. The English monarch was forced by Anlaf to an inglorious peace, into which he was partly betrayed by the treachery of his own subjects; but he no sooner discovered their perfidy, than, in the year 944, he invaded Northumberland, from whence he expelled both Anlaf and Reginald, the son of Guthred, who was formerly king of that country. The Northumbrians had been greatly assisted in their revolt by the Cumbrians, the name of whose new-elected prince was Dunmail; and young Edmund, who was highly elated with his success, after deposing him, offered his country to Malcolm, on condition of his holding it as a fief of the crown of England, and of his being ready to assist him both by sea and land. Matthew of Westminster says, that Edmund ordered the eyes of Dunmail's sons to be put out; but he informs us, that the only service Malcolm engaged to perform for his acquisition, was, to assist in defending the northern border. Brompton, however, with great appearance of truth asserts, that the Scottish prince was obliged (we suppose, if required) to attend Edmund's court at certain feasts: and that houses for his lodging on the road were assigned him. Buchanan has added Westmoreland to Cumberland in the same session, with some appearance of probability, as it seems unlikely that the Cumbrians were confined to the present country of that name.

Nothing but the distressed situation of Edmund's affairs, by the Danes, could have prevailed upon that monarch to have given the king of Scotland so firm a footing as he had acquired in England by the late treaty. As matters were then circumstanced in the North of England, the reservation of fealty was little more than a matter of form, which Malcolm might observe or refuse as he pleased. Fordun informs us, with the English historians, that a second convention was concluded,

by which it was agreed, that Indulf, Malcolm's heir, and the other heirs of Scotland for the time being, should perform homage and fealty to king Edmund, and his successors on the throne of England, for Cumberland; and that neither of them should give shelter to, accept of fealty from, to form connexions with, the Barbarians of the north (meaning the Danes.) Upon the murder of Edmund, in 954, the English chose his brother Edred for his successor, to whom Malcolm likewise proved a most faithful ally. But before I proceed farther, it is necessary to explain a very important difficulty which occurs at this period.

The Saxon Chronicle, in mentioning the battle of Bruneford, confound the Hibernian and British Scots under the common name of Scots, which has occasioned Dr. Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, the Editor of that Chronicle, to suppose that the Scots whom Athelstan then defeated, were the Hibernian Scots. This, however, is only so far true as Anlaf commanded the Irish Scots, and in fact, was the head of that confederacy. It is not easy to say, whether the king of the Northumbrian Danes, and Anlaf, king of the Hibernian Scots, were the same person. I am inclined to think they were; and that the Scots always acted in that war as his auxiliaries. I am even somewhat doubtful, whether Constantine, king of Scotland, was present at the battle of Bruneford; for he is not mentioned in the Cottonian manuscript of the Saxon Chronicle, though named in that published by Bishop Gibson. I am the more suspicious on this head, because it is indisputable that Eugene, prince of Cumberland, was killed that in battle, whom the author of the Chronicle, and other English historians, might very readily mistake for Constantine, as they did the latter being killed in that engagement; though there is not a more certain fact of that age than that he survived it five years.

Nothing can be more evident, than that it was to the Caledonian or British Scots the county of Cumberland was ceded by Edmund; for when his brother Edred ascended the throne, the Northumbrians being again inclined to rebel, Mal-



colm, or rather his son Indulf, renewed his oath of fealty to Edred at York, which disconcerted the schemes of the revolvers, who submitted to Turketil. It is, however, certain, that Anlaf was still alive and in Denmark, from whence, soon after Malcolm's performing his homage, he returned to Northumberland with a body of Danes, which once more put him in possession of that country. It must be acknowledged, that the modern Scotch historians are not very consistent at this period, and that some difficulties occur in their narrations. They tell us, that upon the first rebellion of the Northumbrians against Edred, Malcolm assisted him with ten thousand men; but we know of no assistance sent by them to Edred against Anlaf. Perhaps, Fordun may remove this difficulty, by the new stipulations of fealty, which, as I have already mentioned, were formed at the second convention between Malcolm and Edmund.

From them it would seem, as if Malcolm thought himself disengaged from his oath of fealty and homage, and at liberty to assist, at least not to oppose, his friend and kinsman Anlaf, whom he might consider as the lawful king of Northumberland. This fresh invasion of Anlaf happened in the year 949, and he remained in quiet possession of Northumberland till the year 952, when he was expelled by Eric. Edred, upon this, carried an army into Northumberland, which he again reduced. We do not find, however, that Malcolm sent him an assistance. Fordun, indeed, says, that the Scots assisted Edred in laying waste Northumberland; but this was previous to the invasion of the Danes, under Anlaf. As to Malcolm himself, proving it seems a severe justiciary, he was murdered by a conspiracy of robbers, at Ulrine in the county of Murray, in the year 952, and fifteenth of his reign.

INDULF, son of the late king Constantine, succeeded Malcolm, whose son Duff was created prince of Cumberland. Indulf appears to have been sensible of the barbarity of the Danes, and therefore cultivated the friendship of the Anglo-Saxon kings; it is very possible, however, that at this time Anlaf was dead.

The connections between Indulf and Edred exasperated the Danes so highly, that after Edred's death, according to Fordun, they invaded Scotland with a fleet of fifty ships; having first laid waste the more southern coasts of England. This descent alarmed the islanders as well as the Scots, whom (says our old historian) the Danes now hated as much as they did the English. They were, however, expelled from East-Lothian; and crossing over to Fife, they were defeated there likewise. Indulf seems to have taken great care to guard his coasts; for, notwithstanding the advantage the Danes enjoyed in their shipping, they could not effect another landing, till seeming to steer for their own country, the Scots were thrown off their guard, and their enemies all of a sudden landed at Culen in Barmffshire. Indulf soon came up with, and attacked them in their camp, from whence he, and his two generals, Graeme and Dunbar, drove them towards their ships: but the Scottish king was killed in an ambuscade he fell into during the pursuit.

It must be acknowledged, that the history of the succession to the crown of Scotland, at this period, is very confused; for the old Chronicle I have so often mentioned, makes Malcolm, who succeeded Constantine, to have been the son of Dunmail; nor does it relate whose son Indulf was. We learn, however, one very important fact from it, *viz.* that under Indulf, the Scots acquired the possession of the castle of Edinburgh; an incident which may serve to prove the uncertainty of the Scotch geography in those days, and that the country south of Forth was possessed sometimes by Saxons, and sometimes by Danes: but it was probably from the Anglo-Saxons that the Scots recovered Edinburgh; for there is no doubt of their predecessors having been, long before this time, in possession of Lothian. The same record mentions a victory which Indulf obtained over the Summerleds or Danes, in Buchan.

DUFF, which in the Gaelic language signifies a black man, and who is accordingly in the Chronicle termed Niger, succeeded Indulf. He is said to have been the son of Malcolm,

and an excellent prince. Fordun calls him a man of dove-like simplicity; but at the same time, the terror of rebels, thieves, and robbers. The story of his health being affected by a magical image melting before a fire, is agreeable to the monkish fictions of that age. Even Fordun has not mentioned it; but informs us, that in his pursuit of robbers through all their haunts, especially in Murray, he was so incautious, that conspirators broke into his bed-chamber in the night, and murdered him. The leader of the conspiracy is said to have been Donald, governor of the town and castle of Forreß, who was instigated to this treason by his wife, and the king's refusing to pardon some of his relations. The story of his body being buried by the conspirators under a bridge near Kinloss, that it might not be discovered, is probable; but the miracles which attended the concealment till the body was found out, are unworthy of repetition: it is sufficient to say, that the flight of the conspirators pointed out their guilt; that they were retaken, and brought to condign punishment. The little Chronicle I have before quoted mentions, though in almost unintelligible words, some wars not taken notice of by other historians, in which Duff was conqueror; but that he afterwards lost his crown in the fifth year of his reign. His death corresponds with the year 965.

Culen, the son of Indulf, had been nominated prince of Cumberland in his father's reign, as heir apparent to the crown. There is reason, from the little Chronicle, for supposing that he had some differences with his predecessor; however, be that as it may, we are told that he severely punished his murderers. Notwithstanding this, Culen plunged himself into vices of every kind to such a degree, as renders the fact very questionable, were it not supported by Fordun. An unbounded passion for women is charged upon him as his capital crime; but the truth is, he must have been more than man if he was guilty of all the acts of incontinency mentioned by Buchanan and Boece, who not only accuse him of fornication and adultery with women of all ranks, but even of incest with his own sisters and daughters. The king's example infected his subjects;



and he apologized for his conduct, by pretending that he wanted to soften their manners. The wiser part of the nobility withdrew from court; and the subjects were fleeced to supply their monarch's vices and luxuries. The kingdom thus became a scene of public rapine; and at last an assembly of the states was convened at Scone, for the re-settling the government. Culen was assassinated on his journey to preside at this assembly, near the village of Methven, by Rohard, thane, or sheriff of Fife, whose daughter the king is said to have deflowered. Fordun acknowledges that he was a degenerated prince; but says he was buried with his ancestors at Icolm-kill. The short Chronicle mentions his being killed with his brother Ethod, by the Britons; by whom the author probably means the Scotch Lowlanders.

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the Scots Kings from the beginning of the reign of KENNETH the third, to the Accession of MALCOLM KENMURE in 1054*

**O**N the death of Culen, who was murdered in the fifth year of his reign, KENNETH the third succeeded to the Scottish crown, and his administration is a remarkable period in the Scotch history. This prince mounted the throne in the time of public confusion, and foreign invasion. The late disorders had so infected all the younger part of the nobility, as to render them irreclaimable. This, however, did not discourage Kenneth, who was a prince of invincible resolution. He began with reforming his own court and family; and had sagacity to perceive, that he must effect his purpose by favouring the liberties of the common people against the oppressions of the nobility, which were now become intolerable. He pursued this plan with so much success, that having nothing to fear from the great barons, he ordered them to appear before him at Lanerk: but the majority, conscious of their demerits, did not attend. The king, whose prudence was equal to his resolu-

tion, dissembled his displeasure so well, that those noblemen who appeared were charmed with his affability, and the noble entertainment he gave them. Kenneth went from Clydesdale to Galloway, where he performed his devotions at the shrine of the popular St. Ninian.

Next year he appointed an other meeting of his states at Scone, where the assembly was very numerous; the guilty part of the nobility being encouraged to appear by the king's apparent mildness and moderation. Kenneth had concerted his measures so happily, that all of a sudden the place of meeting was beset with armed men. Even the innocent part of the assembly, who had been acquainted with Kenneth's intention, trembled at their danger; however the king soon dissipated their fears by a speech, in which he informed them that none but the guilty had any thing to apprehend; that his purpose was to encourage industry; and that he was determined at all events, to bring rebels and robbers to justice. After this, he ordered such of the nobility as were known to protect and encourage the most notorious delinquents, to be taken into custody; and he intimated, that their submitting to public justice, should be the price of their liberty.

From this transaction, the reader may conceive some idea of the national miseries attending the feudal law, as then established in Scotland. Every dependent considered his immediate lord as his sovereign; and many of them never supposed that the chief of their clan (as he was called) could be controuled by any other power. The same notions prevailed in after-times, under vicious princes, who attempted to impose upon the people oppressions more intolerable than those imposed by their chiefs; but a vigorous and a virtuous prince seldom failed of gaining over the people and a majority of their chiefs to his interest, as will be seen in the subsequent part of his history.

The nobles accepted of the king's offer, who was so well informed, that he laid before the assembly the names of the chief malefactors whom he intended to bring to justice. The assembly, upon this, issued out orders for apprehending the

criminals, who were punished according to their offences. We cannot, it is true, approve of the manner in which Kenneth proceeded in this affair ; but he must be justified by the character of the times, and the necessity of the measure. He pacified his nobles, by magnificent presents, and his generous manner of treating them.

A great revolution, little attended by Scotch historians, happened in the affairs of North as well as South-Britain. The famous Edgar was then seated on the throne of England ; who being sensible how necessary it was to keep up a large fleet for opposing the Danes, the constant enemies of the Anglo-Saxon kings, fitted out a greater number of ships for the safety of the country, than perhaps all Europe could put to sea. He knew, however, how ineffectual all his cares must prove, unless he could unite the king of the Scots, the prince of Cumberland, and all the petty princes of Wales, in one common principle of safety and defence, against those invaders. The English, as well as the Scotch historians, are silent as to the manner in which this great measure was carried into execution ; but it is certain, that such a confederacy took place under Edgar ; nor can we with any consistency imagine, that so wise and so politic a prince as Kenneth, was averse to the union. The English writers have represented this confederacy as a subjection which Kenneth agreed to ; but upon no other authorities than the idle tales of the monks, who have in a manner deified Edgar even for his proportion of expence for maintaining his fleet, and for guarding all the sea-coasts of Britain, which we are told he did, by dividing his ships into three squadrons. There is likewise some foundation for believing that Kenneth, attended by the prince of Cumberland, met Edgar at Chester ; but the common story, forged by the English monks, of Edgar's being rowed in his barge on the Dee, by his seven tributary king's (of whom Kenneth was one) could it even be proved, is inconclusive as to its being a mark of Kenneth's submission. If eight princes, considering the manners of those days, chose to divert themselves by rowing a barge on the river ; and if Edgar, as being the



the most expert steersman, sat at the helm, what inference can be drawn from such a frolic, to establish the dependency of the crown of Scotland upon that of England? But, in fact, the whole of this story may justly be considered as a monkish dream.

The truth is, that Kenneth cultivated a friendship with Edgar, as well as the British princes; and he had other reasons for his conduct, besides the protection of his coasts, because he was now meditating a total alteration in a mode of succession to the throne. It is uncertain, whether the confederacy I have mentioned, happened before or after a dreadful invasion of the Danes in this reign. That circumstance, however, is of no great importance, because it is impossible for any number of ships, to prevent at all times a descent on the coasts of Britain. Those northern barbarians appeared off the eastern coasts of Angus, and landed at Montrose. Their original intention seems to have been to make a descent upon England, which, perhaps, they found too well guarded. The Danes, upon their landing, proceeded southwards, filling all the country through which they passed, with the most horrible ravages. Kenneth was then at Stirling, unprepared to resist the invaders. The exigency of affairs would only permit him to assemble a handful of men in haste, by whom he cut off the stragglers, and checked their plundering; but he could not prevent the barbarians from besieging Perth. By this time, the king had been joined by a considerable number of his subjects, and was encamped near the confluence of the Tay and the Earn. He advanced to raise the siege, and found his enemy possessed of the rising ground. A battle ensued, in which Kenneth exhibited signal proofs of his valour: he led the center of his army in person; Malcolm, prince of Cumberland, commanded the right wing; and the thane of Athol the left. Previous to the engagement, the king promised, according to the Scotch authors, ten pounds in silver, or the value of it in land, for the head of every Dane which should be brought to him; and an immunity from all taxes to the soldiers who served in his army, if they should prove victorious. The truth of

this fact, however, is very questionable, when we consider the innate hatred which had always subsisted between the Scots and the Danes, and the great difficulty Kenneth would have found in fulfilling his promises.

Whatever may be in those facts, it is certain the Danes fought so desperately, that the Scots, notwithstanding the noble example set them by their monarch in his own person, must have been totally routed, had they not been met by a yeoman and his two sons, of the name of Hay, who were coming up to the battle, armed with such rustic weapons as their condition in life afforded them. Partly by threats, and partly by calling out that help was at hand, the three brave countrymen stopt the Scots at a narrow pass, which they manned; and persuading them to rally, they led the troops once more against the enemy. The fight was now renewed with such fury on the part of the Scots, that the Danes were entirely defeated \*. After the battle, the king rewarded Hay with the large barony of Errol, in the carse of Gowry, ennobled his family, and gave him an armorial bearing, alluding to the agricultural weapons they used in their brave achievement. Such was the rise of the illustrious family of Errol, whose de-

\* That Hay and his two sons performed this service to their country, seems indisputable; but Buchanan, and the Scotch historians who follow him, as well as Boece, record it with circumstances so improbable, as to detract from the credibility of the action. They tell us, that this Hay and his two sons were ploughing in a field near the spot where the battle was fought; and that in loosing the yokes from their ploughs, they stopt the flight of their countrymen. Is it likely, that the brave, patriotic, able-bodied men, should employ themselves in the peaceful exercise of agriculture, while their country was embroiled in war, and when their king had invited all his subjects to join him? Other improbabilities occur in the usual manner of telling the story; so that I should have entirely omitted it, if the fact in general had not been attested by very antient authorities. Upon the whole, the histories of other nations afford many examples of three or four resolute men changing the fate of a battle; nor is it uncommon even in modern times. This seems to have been the case of Hay and his two sons, disengaged from all improbable circumstances. Mr. Gordon, in his *Itinerarium Septent.* p. 151. fancies that he discovered a monument of stone, near a place called Aberlemny in the county of Angus, with figures cut upon it expressive of this action. That the Scots of those days practiced a rude sculpture, seems beyond all doubt; but the figures on the stones are too much defaced for us to pronounce any thing decisive as to their subject.

cendant from him, now claims the same honour. The short Chronicle I have so frequently mentioned, speaks of Kenneth having fortified the banks of the Forth; by which we suppose is meant, that he guarded them against the Danish invasions. The same author likewise mentions his invading Britain, and his ravaging Saxony; by which perhaps we are to understand England, and carrying off a son of the Saxon king. History furnishes us with no light as to any of those incidents. It is certain, that the defeat of the Danes at Loncarty procured repose for Scotland, while they were over-running England, and even rendering it tributary.

It is greatly to be regretted, that the actions of this glorious reign are not attended by a chronology which can be depended on. Fordun places the accession of Kenneth to the crown in the year 970; and tells us, that Edgar, king of England, died in the sixth year of his reign, which agrees with the English computation and the Saxon Chronicle. We are likewise ignorant of the measures pursued by Kenneth, for altering the course of the succession, and diverting it into his own family; but we are certain that they occasioned great and general dissatisfaction throughout the kingdom. Malcolm, the son of Duff, was then prince of Cumberland, and consequently was considered as apparent heir to the crown.

The English historians have not informed us how far the king of England was concerned in this alteration: but undoubtedly he had a right to be consulted; because, by the original cession of Cumberland, he was a kind of guarantee for that prince's succeeding to the crown of Scotland. We learn from Fordun, that in a convention of the states it was agreed, that the king's eldest son or daughter, though only a year old, should inherit the crown; and that Malcolm, the son of Duff, being dead, Malcolm, the son of Kenneth, swore allegiance to Etheldred, king of England, for Cumberland.

There is some reason for suspecting, that Kenneth had purchased the acquiescence of his great lords to this statute, by



granting them exorbitant estates, which rendered them in a manner independent on the crown. Be this as it may, we have the strongest grounds to conclude, that during all the subsequent reign of this prince, the bulk of that Scotch nation was far from being reconciled to the alteration of the mode of succession. Tumults and insurrections happened in various parts of the country, particularly in Ross shire; and dangerous conspiracies were formed against the king's life. Kenneth suppressed and punished the insurgents, though he could not the conspirators.

In the mean time a scene of the most horrid nature was acted, which is related by Buchanan and the Scotch historians as follows: Two powerful noblemen, Cruethnet (or as he is called by Fordun, Cruchne) and his grandson Crathilinth, by his daughter Fenella, were in possession of the counties of Angus and Mearns. The latter visiting the former at his castle of Delbogyn, with a large retinue, the servants of the two noblemen quarrelled, and two of Crathilinth's followers were killed; of which he complained to his mother when he returned home. Instead of appeasing him, she prompted him to revenge; and he accordingly returned with a numerous attendance to Delbogyn, where, being admitted, he murdered his grandfather, with all his family; plundered the castle; and returned in triumph to his mother at Fettercairn. The people of Angus made reprisals on the estates of Crathilinth; and Kenneth was obliged to interpose, by summoning all parties to appear before him at Scone in fifteen days. Crathilinth, however, instead of obeying the summons, retired with his followers to Lochaber; whither the king pursuing him, brought him prisoner to Dunsinane, and afterwards put him to death.

Though I have related this story as I find it in Boece and Buchanan, with all its shocking circumstances, yet a strong suspicion of its authenticity arises from the silence of Fordun, who only says, "that Finella conspired the death of the king out of resentment for that of her son, who had by the severe

rity of the law, or by some other event he cannot account for, lost his life at Dunfinane a long time before." In short, from the manner of Fordun's relation, I am inclined to think the whole narrative of the above assassination fabulous; and that Crathilinth was put to death for a conspiracy on account of the succession. It is most probable, therefore, that the death of Malcolm Duff, prince of Cumberland, renewed the practices of the conspirators.

Boece, Buchanan, and other Scotch historians, without the least authority from Fordun, or any antient writer, have wantonly murdered the reputation of Kenneth by supposing that he procured the death of Malcolm Duff (who bears an excellent character in history) by poison, to make way for his own son, Malcolm, to succeed him. The atrocity of the fact, the character of Kenneth, the silence of Fordun, and the improbability of poisoning being then practised in Scotland, concur in disproving the authenticity of this charge. It is universally allowed, that Kenneth expressed the most poignant sorrow for Malcolm's death; that he honoured him with a noble burial; and that, when it happened, he was not even suspected. Boece and Buchanan, to give their relation the better appearance of consistency, pretend it was not till after the death of Malcolm Duff, that Kenneth declared himself on the subject of the succession; but there is great reason, from the words of Fordun, to think, that the measure had been agreed upon some years before. The last-mentioned writer likewise tells us, that a few of the sticklers for the old mode dissented from the statute; and that upon the death of Malcolm Duff, the king sent his own son to the English court, where he took the oath of fealty to king Etheldred for his principality. It is no wonder, if the influence and power of the competitors for the succession, after the death of Malcolm Duff, strengthened the conspiracy already formed against Kenneth; and that he should be loaded with the imputation of having poisoned Malcolm. At the head of his conspiracy was Constantine, the son of Culen, and Grime, the son of Mogal, brother to king Duff; both of them powerful rivals to young Malcolm, but exclud-

ed by the late statute from all hopes of the succession, which enacted, "That the king's eldest son, for the future, should always succeed to his fathers whatever, his age should be: likewise, if the son died before the father, that the next of kin should succeed the grandfather. That, when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen, being some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in name and place of the king, till he came to be fourteen years of age; and then he had liberty to choose guardians for himself." The order of succession in private families, is said to have been altered at the same time in many particulars.

Buchanan, though the profest enemy of monkish miracles and revelations, indulges so much spite at this father of hereditary succession to the crown of Scotland, that Kenneth is haunted not only with remorse, but with apparitions; and at last, a voice from Heaven advises him to repentance, and warns him of the dreadful consequences of his altering the succession. Such an intelligent writer as Buchanan never could have admitted such legendary tales, in his history, of a king whom he acknowledges to have been, in other respects, the best and most accomplished of princes, had he not been influenced by the most unjustifiable prepossessions. It is true, that Kenneth, upon seeing the formidable opposition his favourite measure was likely to encounter, might take a serious turn; and very possibly, in order to attach the clergy more firmly to his interests, he made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Palladius, in the Merns, the most venerable at that time in Scotland. Tho' Fordun takes no notice of such a pilgrimage, yet he says, that Fenella, whom we have already mentioned, confederated with Constantine, the son of king Culen, and Grime, the grandson of king Duff, to murder the king. Fenella, with great art, insinuated herself into Kenneth's favour, as he was hunting one day near her house, by acknowledging the justice of her son's death, and pretending, that if he would favour her with a visit, she would reveal to him the particulars of all the conspiracies formed against him. The king, prevailed upon by her pressing intreaties, at last accepted of the invita-



tion; and while he was admiring a curious brass statue, was shot through the heart with an arrow, discharged by means of wheels and pulleys from the image, which instantly killed him. Buchanan disbelieves Boece and Major in this relation, without observing that they copied it with Fordun. Perhaps Kenneth might be considering a statue (for religious statues were common in those days) when he was murdered by the conspirators; though Winton, a more antient historian than Boece, without mentioning the statue, says, that Kenneth was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush, at the command of Fenella. Buchanan, I believe very justly, with Fordun, fixes this monarch's death to the year 994.

Before we close our account of the reign of this great prince, we shall mention the story of an interview between him and Edgar, king of England, which, though related by the English historians to his discredit, reflects the highest honour on his character. Happening one day to be a little elevated with liquor (this must have been in the beginning of his reign, when he was a young man) in the company of some English noblemen, he reproached them for suffering themselves to be governed by a prince of such a diminutive stature as Edgar. This conversation reaching that monarch's ear, on pretence of business he drew Kenneth into a solitary part of a wood, where producing two swords, he desired Kenneth to take his choice, and give him satisfaction for the insult he had offered. Kenneth, however, declined the combat, and apologized to Edgar for the affront, which he said had been occasioned by intoxication. Edgar immediately forgave him, and they parted good friends. Allowing this story to be true, it affords a strong presumption against the pretended vassalage of Kenneth to Edgar, who seems to have treated him as a sovereign prince; and the Scottish king must have been in the last state of intoxication if he reproached others with a meanness to which he himself was obliged to submit.

The strength of the confederacy against Kenneth soon appeared. His attendants, tired out with waiting near Fenella's castle, at length broke open the doors, and found their king

murdered ; but Fenella escaped by a postern, and joined the conspirators : upon which Kenneth's attendants laid the place in ashes, and carried the royal body to be buried at Icolmkill. It does not certainly appear, that prince Malcolm was in Scotland at the time of his father's death ; because Fordun says, that Constantine the Bald mounted the throne the very next day, and was crowned. Later historians pretend, that Malcolm was interring his father when this happened. Buchanan speaks of the great art Constantine employed to obtain the crown ; and puts into his mouth the very arguments he himself has urged in other parts of his works against hereditary succession. Upon hearing of Constantine's usurpation, Malcolm raised an army and invaded Scotland ; but finding his competitor at the head of one more powerful, he was compelled to retire to Cumberland, where he remained on the defensive. In his absence, Malcolm was served by his natural uncle Kenneth, who, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of the strong pass at Stirling, and prevented Constantine from pursuing his brother. Both armies lay, without either venturing to attack the other, till many of Constantine's soldiers perished for want of provisions, and he was at last obliged to disband his troops. In the mean time, the miseries which England suffered under the Danes, who were ravaging Northumberland, had obliged Malcolm to take the field ; and Constantine embraced that opportunity to invade Lothian, which Malcolm, at this time, undoubtedly held under the crown of England, though by what tenure is very uncertain. Constantine was opposed by Kenneth the Bastard, who encountered him at Cramond, where, though inferior in number, he made such an excellent disposition of his troops, that he defeated Constantine's army ; but happening to engage him hand to hand, both princes were killed.

The remains of Constantine's army, which escaped from the battle, joined Grime, whom we have mentioned to be the grandson of king Duff, and whom Fordun calls Constantine's colleague ; by which, I suppose, he means his apparent heir. As Constantine reigned a year and a half, this must have hap-

pened in the year 996, when it is certain that Grime was crowned at Scone. Upon his elevation to the throne, Grime affected great moderation, distributing his favours equally to all parties, and even to the known friends of Malcolm: it is likewise probable, that he would have left Malcolm in quiet possession of all he held on the south of Forth. Fordun and the old historians draw a most dreadful picture of the miseries of Scotland, after the death of Kenneth, for nine years; for Malcolm appears to have had a number of friends in the kingdom, though the affections of the people inclined to his competitor, who resembled his father in his resolution and genius. Finding Grime's interest far superior to his own, Malcolm employed secret emissaries, who detached a number of the king's friends from his party, which Grime perceiving, had again recourse to arms. Malcolm likewise raised troops, under pretence that Grime had imprisoned his servants; but his party was so disunited and intimidated, that his preparations proved ineffectual; and he once more left Grime in possession of the field and the throne. As Malcolm was preparing for a fresh invasion, a good bishop, one Fochad, offered his mediation between the two parties; which being accepted of, the following conditions were agreed to: That Grime should retain the name of king as long as he lived, and that, after Malcolm's death, the whole kingdom should return to him; but that for the future, the law of Kenneth, for establishing the succession in the last king's children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary of their dominions: that which was north of the wall, was to belong to Grime; and that south of the wall, to Malcolm.

I do not hazard a great deal in saying, that by this peace, the Scots in general were again subjected to the power of their rapacious and oppressive nobles, whom Grime, perhaps, was obliged to support; and is therefore called a tyrant, though possessing all the accomplishments in body and mind of a great prince. Malcolm and his party continued quiet for eight years, according to Buchanan; but the oppressions of Griem's go-



vernment beooming at last insupportable, the Scots looked up to Malcolm as their deliverer. Fordun gives us another idea of this reign. He represents the eight years peace as being pregnant with the most terrible calamities to the people; and the most descriptive part of his history is the character he gives of prince Malcolm. "The people (says he) were much better pleased with the actions of Malcolm than of Grime; for there was scarcely a man in the kingdom who could equal Malcolm in the exercises of the field, either in his wars or his amusements. Our Historical Annals represent him as skilful in the management of the sword and the lance; and of his bearing to a miracle, hunger, thirst, cold, and the longest watching. He cautiously guarded himself against all surprizes from Grime, by frequently moving from one part of the country to another; and by gaining upon the affections of many of the nobles, he privately bound them to his interest by oaths of fidelity. His great strength, and the beauty of his person, became the universal theme of applause and praise, till at last the public voice pointed him out as the most worthy of the kingdom. Malcolm being thus conscious of his popularity, by advice of the chieftains of his party, sent frequent messages to Grime, desiring him to take his choice, either to abdicate the crown of Scotland, which he and his predecessor had usurped, or to fight for it in a pitched battle, or to dispute it at single combat, by putting themselves upon the just judgment of God. Grime with great indignation, thinking it impossible to withstand his power, put himself at the head of such of his subjects as he could trust, and took the field. He was opposed by Malcolm with a small, but choice body; and both armies met in a commodious field, at Achnebard, where a most bloody battle was fought. Grime behaved with the greatest courage and resolution; but being mortally wounded, he was carried out of the field by his followers, and died the same night. His troops immediately retreated, and left Malcolm in possession of the crown and a complete victory. Next day, the news of the king's death being confirmed, Mal-

colm ordered his followers to rest assured of his protection, and to give his body a burial at Icolm-kill."

Such is the manner in which our honest old historian represents this event, one of the most considerable that can happen in the history of any nation; because it introduced a total alteration, not only in the succession, but in the modes of property. Boece and Buchanan, as usual, take pleasure in representing Grime, after he became sole possessor of the crown by the peace, as a most abandoned tyrant. It requires a more minute disquisition than I can here enter into, to decide upon the justice of his pretensions, and that of Malcolm; but I think they were very fully and very candidly acknowledged by Malcolm, when he not only allowed his body to be buried with his ancestors, but pardoned all who had been in arms under him. Admitting that Malcolm's father had obtained a majority of the nobles, to pass the statute for making the crown hereditary in his family, the question is, Whether the princes of the blood, who were thereby shut out from their former and constitutional right of succession, thought that the assembly had a legal power of establishing such a pragmatic, and of altering the fundamentals of government?

I have already observed, that Malcolm was in England at the time of his father's murder; nor can I see any foundation for the assertion of those historians who say, that he was at that time crowned king. Such an opinion is against the evidence of history; but it is indispensable for me to take a view of his conduct, when he resided in Cumberland, particularly during the year 999.

At that time, the Danes, not contented with obliging Etheldred, king of England, to pay them tribute, oppressed his subjects with barbarities unknown even to savage nations. Etheldred was a prince of a most unequal spirit and conduct; and calling together his council, he required Malcolm, as his tributary, to assist him with money, to defray the arrears due to the Danes. Malcolm answered, with a spirit above the common understanding of the princes of those times, that, by his

oath of fealty, he was obliged to no other service but that of the field in person, where he was always ready to appear. He told Etheldred, at the same time, with the indignation of the Roman dictator, that it was more glorious to deliver his country from slavery by steel than by gold. Etheldred was dissatisfied with this answer; and accused Malcolm of not only having violated his oath of fidelity, but of favouring the Danes; and he invaded the principality of Cumberland with great fury. An accommodation, however, was soon concluded between them; and it is probable, that Malcolm inspirited Etheldred with the resolution of expelling the Danes out of his kingdom. This scheme was well laid, and we have from history no reason to doubt, that Malcolm took the field to assist in carrying it into execution. It was, however, defeated, by the equinoctial storms, which dispersed Etheldred's fleet. Simeon of Durham, an English historian, informs us, that this year 999 Malcolm king of the Scots, wasted Northumberland with a great army; and that he was defeated by Uthred, son to the earl of Northumberland, who planted Durham round with the heads of Scotchmen which were best furnished with hair; and gave an old woman a cow for washing them. The relation of the last-mentioned ludicrous circumstance is plainly owing to the author's dislike of the Scots; neither is it material whether it was true or not. The historian, however, is mistaken in attributing this invasion to Malcolm; for he was then only prince of Cumberland, nor does even Fordun give him any other epithet till after the battle of Achnebard. The defeat therefore, here mentioned, must have been given to Grime in one of his English expeditions against Malcolm, tho' it is omitted by the Scottish historians.

According to the best chronology, Malcolm mounted the throne of Scotland in 1004. The manner of his accession, as mentioned by Fordun, plainly evinces that he never before had taken the title of king. After Malcolm, says he, had obtained the victory, he did not immediately assume the royal title; but calling together his nobility, he humbly besought them, if it could be done agreeably to law, to give him the crown;



which they, in consequence of the law made in his father's time, and acknowledged by them as valid, immediately did, by investing him with the diadem. Before we can proceed in the history of this prince, it is necessary to connect it with that of the Danes of England. About the year 995, Anlaf, a Norwegian chief, and Swen, a Dane, called by some Swegen, made a descent upon England. Anlaf was converted to Christianity, and Swen probably returned to his own country, by which the kingdom of England enjoyed some years of repose. Swen, having deprived his own father of his crown and life, was himself expelled out of Denmark; but after wandering about a fugitive from court to court, the king of Scotland gave him shelter, and by his assistance Swen remounted the throne of Denmark. That Swen took refuge in Scotland is certain, from the testimony of Adam Bremenſis, and the other northern historians; but it is surprizing that an event so glorious for Scotland, as that of restoring a king to his crown, is not commemorated in her annals, especially as, after his restoration, he resettled the Christian religion, from which he had been an apostate, both in Denmark and Norway; which latter fell to him by succession. Some writers pretend, that the Scotland mentioned by the northern historians was Ireland: but, upon the whole, there is reason to believe, that he did reside for some time in the British Scotland. About the year 1002, Etheldred was obliged to renew his negotiations with the Danes, and by the assistance of the excellent Gunhilda, sister to Swen, and who is said to have lived for some time with her brother in Scotland, a peace was concluded, Gunhilda, who was married to Paleg, an English nobleman, becoming hostage for the good faith of her countrymen.

This peace served only to render the Danes more haughty and cruel, if possible, than ever; and Etheldred, at last, came to a resolution to massacre all who were found in his dominions, which was executed with circumstances of barbarity foreign to this history. Among the rest of the victims was Gunhilda, who suffered with a magnanimity that did honour to her sex. The news of this massacre having reached Swen, he was so exas-

perated that he sent over a new fleet, and an army. Being joined by the Danes still remaining in the north of England, which seems to have been exempted from the late massacre, all England, and even Malcolm's possessions in the south of Scotland, was again filled with devastation. We do not, however, find that Swen was at this time in Britain; but the assistance which Malcolm had given to Etheldred was a sufficient motive for the invasion. We are told that Ochred was at the head of the Danish army here, but that he was defeated near the village of Brough in Cumberland, by Malcolm, and stript of all his plunder. Swen afterwards arrived in England; but, at this time, the Danes, by their prosperity, had plunged themselves into such excesses, that nothing but his presence could have restored them to order and discipline; and had not Etheldred been sunk in luxury and indolence, or been surrounded and misled by traitors, who secretly favoured the Danes, he might before Swen's second arrival, which happened so late as the year 1013, have abolished their dominion in England. Ochred was himself a Dane, but in a manner independent both upon Etheldred and Swen. The latter was so well satisfied with his conduct, that he left him in quiet possession of his principality; and for some time Cumberland enjoyed repose.

Malcolm seems now to have been advanced in years. He had no issue to succeed him, except a grandson by his daughter Beatrix, who was married to a great nobleman, whom Fordun calls the abtharie, or chief thane of Dul, which I suppose to be a corruption of the word Thule; and that he was predecessor to those lords of the Isles who afterwards grew so powerful. This grandson's name was Duncan, and Malcolm naturally conferred upon him the principality of Cumberland. Whether Duncan performed homage to Etheldred for his principality, does not clearly appear; though it is certain, that Malcolm was himself punctual in performing all his engagements with the crown of England. This seems to have exasperated Swen, who aspired to Etheldred's throne; for I find, that the Danes renewed their invasions into Cumberland

and made several descents on the coasts of Scotland, but still with loss: for Fordun says, that Malcolm gave them three several defeats; and by the constant successes of his arms, he acquired the title of The most Victorious king, which (continues he) is given him in all the writings wherein he is mentioned.

The fidelity of Malcolm to the English proved so invincible an obstacle to Swen's ambition, that he resolved to attack him in the very vitals of his own dominions; and suspending for some time his operations in England, he fitted out a great armament, composed of Danish and Norwegian ships, which landed a considerable body of troops on the coast of Scotland, where they were surprised by Malcolm, who cut in pieces all of them except a few who escaped to their ships, with the loss only of thirty of his own soldiers. This gave some respite to Scotland; but in the mean time, the English and Danes, in conjunction, invaded Cumberland. There is reason to believe, from the words of Fordun, that Duncan had not performed his homage to Etheldred; because (says he) all the intermediate space between him and the English court was possessed by the Danes, who carried their booty twenty miles over land to their ships. Be this as it may, it is certain, that Malcolm joined his grandson, and the Danes were again defeated. The incredible populousness of the northern kingdoms, in those times, together with the successes of their inhabitants in England, never suffered Swen to be without resources of shipping and men. He accordingly gave orders to two of his general officers, who in history are called Ocan the Norwegian, Eneth the Dane, to make a descent with a powerful fleet and army, at the mouth of the Spey. This formidable invasion had not been foreseen by Malcolm; but he easily conceived that it was meant as a prelude to the entire conquest of his dominions. The spot where the barbarians landed was the inlet to the country of Murray, the best province of his dominions, and from whence they could penetrate into the Highlands. He assembled in haste a small army, to prevent the ravages of the Danes, who had taken forts in the neighbourhood,



and had laid siege to the castle of Nair, then a place of considerable strength. Malcolm, notwithstanding the disproportion of his numbers to those of the Danes, advanced to fight them; and made a speech to animate his men, who were already highly exasperated by the scenes of blood and devastation that every where surrounded them. Their impatience for revenge was such, that they neglected all discipline, and advanced with so blind a fury, that they were cut in pieces by the barbarians; the brave Malcolm being carried out of the field desperately wounded in the head.

This victory over a handful of undisciplined men, encouraged the Danes so much, that, not questioning they should soon be able to conquer all Scotland, they sent for their wives and children. The castle of Nairn fell into their hands, and the garrison was put to the sword, contrary to the capitulation. As this castle was thought impregnable, and was excellently well provided for a long and vigorous defence, the garrisons and inhabitants of Elgen and Forreß abandoned both places; and the Danes treated the inhabitants in every respect as a conquered people. They obliged them to cut down the corn for their use; and to render the castle of Nairn (as they thought) absolutely impregnable, they cut through the small isthmus which joined it to the land.

Malcolm was all this time raising forces in Mar, and the southern counties. Having at last got together an army, he advanced to dispossess the Danes of their late conquests. He came up with them at Murtloch, near the castle of Balveny, which appears, to this day, to have been a strong Danish fortification. There Malcolm attacked them, but with such bad success, that he lost three of his general officers; Kenneth, thane of the Isles, Grime, thane of Strathern, and Dunbar, the thane of Lothian. Discouraged by his loss, the Scots retreated; but Malcolm took possession of a defile, where he checked the pursuit of the barbarians, and the Danish general was killed. His death damped the ardour of his men, but infused fresh courage into the Scots; and Malcolm, in his turn, charged his enemies with such fury, that he obtained a

complete victory; while Olan, the other Danish general, was obliged to withdraw with the remains of his army to Murray, where he took up his winter quarters.

It seems probable that the Scots, by not pursuing their victory, had suffered greatly in the battle. Perhaps the danger of another invasion rendered them cautious; for we are told, that Malcolm immediately marched his army to Angus. Some of the Scotch historians say, that Malcolm killed the Danish chief with his own hand; but all agree, that this victory at Murtloch (where he afterwards founded a bishopric) was owing to his personal valour.

The news of the defeat of the Danes in Scotland was so far from discouraging Swen, that he gave orders for a fresh descent to be made by two fleets, one from England, and the other from Norway, under the command of Camus, one of his most renowned generals. His army was composed of veterans, and the descent was to be made at the mouth of the Forth. All the places there were so well fortified, that he found a landing was impracticable; but he effected it at Red-head, in the county of Angus. He immediately marched to Brechin, where he besieged the castle; but not being able to take it, he laid the town and the church in ashes. From thence he advanced to the village of Panbride, and encamped, as there is reason to believe, at a place called Karboddo. By this time, Malcolm was at hand with his army, and encamped at a place called Barr; and both sides prepared for a battle, which was to determine the fate of Scotland; for it is more than probable, that the Danes then remained in full possession of the county of Murray, and some of the neighbouring provinces. The reader may easily conceive the arguments made use of by the generals of both armies. According to the history of the antient family of Keith, a young prince who commanded the Gatti (a German clan which had been some time settled in the province of Caithness, which takes its name from them) served that day as a feodary in Malcolm's army, and bore a great share in the battle, which was desperate and bloody on both sides. Camus was at the head of the

troops which had conquered England; but those under Malcolm were fighting for all that could be dear to a brave people. The slaughter was such that the neighbouring brook of Loch-Tay is said to have run with blood. At last, victory declared herself in favour of the Scots, and the Danes were put to flight: they were persuaded by young Keith, who overtook Camus, and killed him with his own hand. Another Scotch officer coming up, disputed with Keith the glory of this action; and while the contest lasted, Malcolm arrived in person. The case was such, that it could be decided only by single combat; in which Keith proving victorious, his antagonist confessed the truth; and Malcolm dipping his fingers in the wounds of the expiring person, marked the shield of Keith with three bloody strokes, and pronouncing the words *Veritas vincit*, or *Truth overcomes*, the same has ever since been the armorial bearing and motto of his descendants.

Though I have related this battle according to what I find in the Scotch historians, yet I am strongly inclined to believe, that two battles were fought at a short distance from each other; and that the last, which proved decisive, was at Aberlemno, within four miles of Brechin, where the Danes were totally defeated. Few actions of such antiquity are better attested than these. Even the little Chronicle mentions Malcolm's great war at Barr; and two stones, which are still to be seen, with other monuments erected at the time are rude, though noble and authentic monuments of Malcolm's two victories. One of those monuments, which is called Camus-cross, I conjecture to have been erected by the piety of Malcolm, to propitiate for the soul of the Dane, who perhaps was a heathen; and to express the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. The figures on the other, at Aberlemno, are plainly warlike and triumphal.

The broken remains of the Danish army reached their ships; but meeting with cross-winds, and being destitute of provisions, they put five hundred men on shore on the coast of Buchan, to range the country for food. They were discovered by Mernan, the thane of Buchan, who cut off their communi-



cation with their ships; and forced them to retire to a hill, where they fortified themselves as well as they could with large stones. The Scots several times attempted to dislodge them; but being repulsed with some loss, they were reinforced with numbers, and mounted the hill with so much resolution, that they broke into the Danish entrenchment, and put every man of them to the sword. The place where this massacre happened is still called Crudane, which I take to be an abbreviation of Cruor Danorum, the appellation given it by the ecclesiastics or monks of those days.

The care of the Scots in erecting monuments of their glorious victories over the Danes in their own country cannot be sufficiently commended, as they scarcely are mentioned by the English historians. From them, however, we learn, that Swen sent his son Canute, one of the greatest warriors of the age, afterwards king of England, and surnamed the Great, with an army more powerful than any of the former, to invade Scotland, where the Danish fleet, after the slaughter at Crudane, had reached Murray. Even this formidable invasion did not daunt the Scots, who seem by this time to have become excellent troops. Either by design or accident, Canute landed at Buchan; a circumstance which, together with the remains of Danish encampments in that country, inclines me to believe, that they had still a footing there. The Scots may be reasonably supposed to have been, by this time, considerably weakened by their repeated invasions; and for that reason, as well as on account of Canute's reputation in war, Malcolm determined to act upon the defensive, by harrassing his enemies, and cutting off their convoys. The Scots, who now thought themselves invincible, did not relish that skirmishing method of fighting, and called aloud for a general engagement. Malcolm complied with their ardour, and a bloody battle was fought, which, as the Scotch historians say, afforded no matter of triumph to either side. I can by no means be of that opinion, because it produced a peace which gave Malcolm all that he could have expected from a victory. The terms concluded between him and Canute were, that the

Danes should depart and leave Murray and Buchan; and that as long as Malcolm and Swen lived, neither of them should wage war with the other, nor help one another's enemies: that the field in which the battle was fought, should be set apart, and consecrated for the burial of the dead. Those terms prove the Scots to have been far from barbarous when they were concluded; and that the Danes, as well as Canute, had been converted into Christianity. The stipulations were punctually fulfilled by Malcolm, who built in the neighbourhood, a chapel, dedicated to Olaus, the tutelar saint of those northern nations. It is remarkable, that since the commencement of the present age, human bones of an uncommon magnitude have been discovered, or dug up, near all the places of battle between the Scots and the Danes: a circumstance which affords some countenance to those who alledge, that the latter were, in those days, of an unusual size. The same remark was made by Boece.

When the history of Malcolm is duly attended to, he well deserves the name of the legislator of Scotland; and he was, perhaps, the greatest prince who ever sat upon that throne, not even excepting the first Bruce. Having with wonderful courage and perseverance cleared his dominions of their barbarous invaders, he applied himself to the arts of peace; and we shall, in the ecclesiastical history, take notice of the great things he did for the church. Lawyers and antiquaries are divided with regard to the antiquity of the feudal law in Scotland; and some have gone so far as to say, that it was unknown even in England before the time of the Norman Conquest. As I am extremely clear that the constituent parts of the feudal law were known not only to the Saxons, but to the Danes, and other northern nations, I can see no reason for supposing it to have been unknown to Malcolm and his people; and I am of opinion with those lawyers who think that it was imported thither by Fergus, commonly called the second. But whether the *Regiam Majestatem* of Scotland (so called from its first two words) which contains the code of the ancient Scotch law, was borrowed from the English, is a question that be

longs more properly to a lawyer than a historian. That it is of great and undoubted antiquity, is not disputed by any; and that it is not later than the time of king David the first or second: so that it is at least a record of the highest authority. It was published by the learned Skene, who was the greatest antiquary in those matters that Scotland ever produced, and approved of by parliament in the reign of James the third. Prefixed to it are the laws of king Malcolm, approved of by the same authority; and in the first chapter of those laws, which treats of ward and relief, we read as follows: "King Malcome gave and distributed all his lands of the realm of Scotland amongst his men; and reserved nathing in proper-tive to himselfe, bot the royal dignitie, and the Mute-hill of Scone; and all his barons gave and granted to him, the warde and relief of the heir of Ilk-Baron, quhen he should happen to deceis, for the king's sustention."

The Scotch historians have blamed Malcolm for this liberality; and some have imagined that before this time the king held all the lands in Scotland in fee. It is easy to prove, from the English history, that the Saxon holdings in England by the thanes were strictly feudal; and as the word Thane occurs in the Scotch history, at the same time, there can be no reason for doubting that the same constitution prevailed there. A thane sometimes had a grant of lands for a certain term, at the expiration of which it might be renewed by the king; sometimes he held it for life, and at his death, the king might continue it to his son: so that, in one sense, during a long reign, the greatest part of the lands in the kingdom might lapse to the crown. About the time we now treat of, the feudal constitutions began to favour hereditary right, and property to be more fixed in families; nor was there any wonder if a prince, who, like Malcolm, had been so well served by his subjects, gave them a perpetual right to the lands which they had held so precariously before: but it is absurd and against every evidence of history to think, that the king did not reserve his demesne lands, which were to support his family and household; and that he had no other sustentation than



wardships and reliefs. We meet with charters of large grants made, after this cession, by Malcolm and his successors. Upon the whole, the law published by Skene and here repeated, must either be spurious, or imply the meaning I have given it. As to the reservation of the Mute-hill, it was perhaps, a form which arose from customs that cannot now be accounted for.

It was not long before Malcolm was again involved in difficulties, on account of the principality of Cumberland. Canute, after his reversion to the English throne, required Duncan to pay him homage; and sent him repeated summonses for that purpose, which Duncan as often refused to obey, on pretence that his homage was due not to the Danish, but the Saxon kings of England. Canute having then taken a religious turn, was preparing to pay a visit to Rome, and had not leisure to enforce his orders. Upon his return, in the year 1032, he renewed his demand, which being again neglected to be complied with, he sent an army into Cumberland; but, according to Fordun, he headed it himself. Malcolm marched to his grandson's support with another army; and when both parties were preparing for battle, certain prelates and worthy men interposed: so that a peace was concluded by Malcolm's agreeing that Duncan, and all his successors in the principality of Cumberland, should pay homage to the kings of England.

This seems to have been the last military expedition of Malcolm. The remaining part of his reign was tranquil, and employed in civil institutions; part of which, Buchanan very truly says, was copied from his neighbours, meaning the Danes and Saxons. The same historian absurdly blames him for annexing new titles to certain magistrates, by which he means his encreasing the subordinate degrees of authority: an unpardonable fault in the eyes of that author. Fordun acquaints us, that notwithstanding all his glorious actions, the factions which had been left by the two last kings still subsisted, and secretly conspired his death, though he had heaped upon them all manner of obligations. They took the opportunity of

way-laying him, as he was on his journey to Glamis, and murdered him, after a brave resistance. More modern authors with a shew of probability say, that his own domestics were privy to the assassination, and fled along with the conspirators; but in passing the lake of Forfar on the ice, it gave way under their weight, and all of them being drowned, their bodies were discovered some days after. The latter part of this account is confirmed by the sculptures upon some old stones erected near the spot; one of which is, to this day, called King Malcolm's Grave-Stone; all of them exhibiting some rude representations of the murder, and the fate of the assassins. The reader who is curious to know the particulars, may see them delineated by Mr. Gordon in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*.

Boece and Buchanan informs us, that Malcolm stained the latter part of his reign with avarice and oppression, occasioned by his own generosity in granting away his lands, as we have already seen. Though we have endeavoured to explain this fact, yet it is so express, and the evidences for it so stubborn, that many readers may require a farther illustration. For my own part I cannot be easily persuaded, that a prince of such abilities, both civil and military, as Malcolm certainly possessed, could be guilty of an act of such insane generosity, as our historians have represented this cession to be. I shall therefore strengthen what I have already said by an additional conjecture, which, I hope, will appear rational and natural. Kenneth, the father of Malcolm, had, with great difficulty, fixed the succession of the throne in his own family, by an act of the states; to which so little regard was paid after his death, that two princes succeeded to the crown upon the principles of the old constitution. Malcolm, by his amazing abilities and good fortune, conquered both those princes, and put an end to their reigns by their deaths; but he no sooner mounted the throne than he found it shaken by the most formidable prince then in Europe, who was master of England, Denmark, and Norway, countries the most contiguous to his

own kingdom. The good fortune of Malcolm still continued : he had the glory of defeating his warlike enemies, and of establishing his throne in tranquillity. Was it not then natural for his subjects who had served him so bravely, to demand for themselves the same privilege which they had so generously granted to him ? I am obliged to speak in those terms, because the alteration of the succession can admit of no other. Did not sound policy require, that after the crown was rendered hereditary, private estates should become so likewise ? Had not this alteration taken place in the latter case, a king of Scotland, in less than a century, must have been despotic, and consequently his people slaves.

Upon the whole, therefore, I must consider this step in a light very different from that in which it has been hitherto represented ; and that it rose from a pact either express or understood, between the king and his nobility. The only difficulty now remaining, therefore, is, how the king came to be so imprudent as to dispose of all the lands in his kingdom. I have already, in part, given my opinion on this head ; which is, that he reserved his demesne lands, and only granted away the estates that were already in possession of the great landholders ; which, with the reservation of wardships and reliefs, and other advantages annexed to the royal authority, he might have thought sufficient for maintaining the dignity of his crown and station. Perhaps he was mistaken ; and from the words of Fordun he very probably was. Some of the great landholders might claim some of the demesne lands as being within their grants ; and perhaps the king might resume some of their estates as being part of his demesne ; which might give occasion to our old historian to insinuate that he revoked his grants. I shall finish what I have to say on this important subject by observing, that when the English historian tells us that William the Conqueror granted to his followers all the laws of England, the demesne lands are never understood to be comprehended in that grant. Malcolm was above eighty years of age when he was assassinated, of which he reigned thirty.



DUNCAN mounted the throne in the year 1034. Malcolm, besides Duncan's mother, had another daughter before his death, named Doada, who was married to the thane of Glamis, and is said to have been mother to the famous Macbeth, whom Winton and our old historians call Macbeth Finlay. There is, however, great reason to doubt this genealogy. The first years of Duncan's reign were tranquil; but it was soon overcast by domestic broils on the following occasion. Banquo, thane of Lochaber, and ancestor to the royal house of Stuart, acted then in the capacity of steward to Duncan, by collecting his rents (an additional proof of the late king's having reserved the demesne lands); but being a severe justiciary, and making his collections rigorously, the inhabitants of the country way-laid, robbed, and almost murdered him. Recovering of his wounds he came to court, where he complained of the robbers, who were summoned to surrender themselves to justice; but, instead of obeying, they killed the messenger. The rebels are said to have been encouraged in this by one MacDowald, who reproached the government and the king as being better fitted to rule droning monks than brave men. This report coming to the ears of Macbeth, he represented the affair so effectually to the king, that he was sent with an army to reduce the insurgents, who had, by this time, destroyed all the king's friends in their neighbourhood. Macbeth performed his commission with great valour and success; encountered and defeated the rebels; forced their leader to put an end to his own life; and sent his head to the king. He then proceeded with the utmost severity against his followers; who, we are told, consisted of Irishmen, Islanders, and Highlanders. Such is the relation given by Boece of the commencement of this reign.

Scarcely was this insurrection quelled, when the Danes again landed in Fife; and Duncan, shaking off all his indolent habits, put himself at the head of an army, the thanes, Macbeth and Banquo, serving under him. The Danes were commanded by Swen, who is said to have been the eldest son of Canute, and during his father's life-time was king of Nor

way. His purpose was to have conquered Scotland, and to revenge the losses which the Danes and Norwegians had suffered during the late reign. He proceeded with all the barbarity common to his nation, putting to the sword men, women, and children, of all ages and stations. It was not long before a battle was fought between the two nations nigh Culross, in which the Scots were defeated; but the Danes purchased their victory so dearly, that they could not improve it; and Duncan retreated to Perth, while Macbeth was sent to raise a new army. Swen laid siege to Perth, which was defended by Banquo, under Duncan. It is probable, that both sides were, at this time, under great distress; the besiegers for want of provisions, all the country round being laid waste; and the besieged for want of skill to defend the town, because Banquo advised Duncan to treat with Swen concerning a capitulation. Swen at first refused to admit of any; but at last agreed to treat, provided the pressing necessities of his army were relieved. The Scotch historians with a very bad grace inform us, that this treaty was entered into on the part of Duncan to amuse Swen, and to gain time for the stratagem he was preparing. This was no other than an infamous contrivance for infusing herbs of noxious and intoxicating qualities into the liquors which were sent with the other provisions to the camp of Swen. According to them, those soporifics had the intended effect; and while the Danes were under their influence, Macbeth and Banquo being then joined, broke into their camp, where they put all to the sword, and it was with difficulty that some of Swen's attendants carried him on board; but we are told, that his was the only ship of all his fleet which returned to Norway. I hope, for the honour of the Scotch nation, that this is as false as it is infamous and improbable. Might not the Scots have surprised the Danish camp in the night-time, and have obliged Swen to retire to his ships, without having recourse to the practice of drugging the provisions that had been sent to the Danes upon the public faith?

It was not long before a fresh body of Danes landed at

Kinghorn in the county of Fife. They were soon encountered by the Scotch army, under Macbeth and Banquo, who completely defeated them; and such of the Danes as escaped the sword fled to their ships. It is probable that this battle was fought near Lundin, where several monumental stones are still to be seen, but without inscriptions or sculptures. That they served as grave-stones cannot be doubted, from the number of bones and coffins found near them containing skeletons of extraordinary sizes. Before the Danes set sail, they entered upon a treaty with the Scotch generals, for leave to bury their dead in Inchcolm, a small island lying in the Forth, with an abbey upon it dedicated to St. Columb; but that abbey has been since erected. A large sum of money soon purchased this favour for the Danes; and one of their monuments representing a stone-coffin, with a Tartar-like head at each end, is still to be seen on the island. This bargain being struck, the Danes set sail for their own country; and thus ended their descents upon Scotland. Before I take leave of those dreadful invaders, I must mention one of the most stately monuments of the Gothic kind to be seen in Europe, erected at Forreß near Murray. For my own part, I entertain not the least doubt of its being intended by the Scots as a monument of the evacuation of that province, after the peace was concluded between Malcolm and Canute. It originally was above thirty-five feet in height, and five in breadth; and is adorned with rude sculptures, which are now unintelligible, but represent warlike trophies and marches on the one side; on the other, a cross with two uncouth figures of men. Mr. Gordon is of opinion, that it was erected by the Scots after the battle of Murtloch; but as the Danes were for some years after in possession of Murray, it is more reasonable to ascribe the erection of it to the event above-mentioned.

After the expulsion of the Danes, Duncan had leisure to indulge his zeal for justice and the reformation of his kingdom, while Macbeth, who had got great reputation by his valour in the late successes against the Danes, was hatching ambitious projects. Boece and some of our other historians have here



given a loose to the extravagance of their fancy, by relating the well-known fable of the three weird sisters appearing to Macbeth and Banquo, who hailed him thane of Glamis, thane of Cawdor, and, lastly, king of Scotland; but promising Banquo that his posterity should be kings of that realm. Nothing can be more ridiculous than this fiction, which is very justly exploded by Buchanan. Winton tells us, that the whole was no more than a dream of Macbeth. All the truth, perhaps, of the story is, that Macbeth gave out he had such a dream, in order to try how it would operate on the minds of the public: a stratagem not uncommon among people in ages more enlightened than we can suppose the Scots to have now been. Fordun is silent as to the whole story, and represents Duncan in a most amiable light. He had been married to the daughter of Syward, earl to the prince of Northumberland, which, by all accounts, had then very little dependence on the crown of England, and by her he had two sons; Malcolm, named Canmore, and Donald, surnamed Bane, or the Fair. No sooner was Duncan crowned than he settled the principality of Cumberland upon Malcolm; and upon the retreat of the Danes, he cultivated so strict a friendship with all his neighbours, that he reigned in perfect tranquillity. His custom was to perambulate the kingdom once a year; relieving the oppressed, punishing the guilty, reconciling differences and quarrels of all kinds, alleviating public misfortunes, and mitigating the rigour of tax-gatherers. Those virtues were far from ensuring the safety of this excellent prince; for (says our historian) the old tribe of the conspirators meditated his ruin. Their proceedings were not so secret but that the king's friends had some intelligence of them, and endeavoured to put him on his guard. Duncan, conscious of no offence, and unwilling to harbour a suspicion of his subjects, discouraged the report, and this gave Macbeth an opportunity of murdering him at Inverness.

Our historians are unanimous in painting MACBETH as the most ungrateful and atrocious of criminals, by murdering his uncle, and usurping his throne. I am, however, of opinion,

that he was descended from the same Fenella who was concerned in the murder of Kenneth the third ; and that Macbeth was at the head of a powerful party, which was still dissatisfied with the alteration of the succession, and sought to bring it back to its former principles. For this reason Fordun calls them the old tribe of conspirators ; and by his expressly telling us, that Macbeth was the son of Fenella, there is reason to believe that he had some family pretensions to the crown, founded upon the antient constitution. My conjectors are the more probable, as the sons of the late king were, by this time, grown to men's estate ; and all they could do was to defend themselves against Macbeth. This (according to Fordun) they did for two years ; when, being unable to hold out longer, Malcolm retired to Cumberland, and Donald fled to the isles. It is not to be doubted, that the young princes left behind them a very strong party ; which gave great uneasiness to the usurper. His troubles were increased, when he found that Malcolm's kinsman, the earl of Northumberland, not only entered warmly into his interest, but introduced him to Edward the Confessor, then King of England, who having been an exile himself, was naturally disposed to pity Malcolm's misfortunes, and accordingly promised him his assistance.

In the mean time Macbeth was crowned at Scone, and recognized as king of Scotland, but continued to keep a strict watch over the party of the exiled princes ; in other respects he is allowed to have displayed excellent talents for government. His justice and equity were exemplary. He signalized himself in punishing thieves of all denominations : he endeavoured to gain the ecclesiastics to his party ; and, by the force of moneys he actually brought the court of Rome over to his interest. He marched in person into the most remote haunts of his lawless subjects, whom he reduced to order : he subdued and put to death Mac-gill, the most powerful man in Galloway ; a country which, at that time, was indisputably governed by its own princes, though possibly homagers to the crown of Scotland. All his abilities could not procure him tranquillity, and he imagined the party of the exiled princes to

be more powerful than perhaps it was. This drove him into a severity, which soon terminated in cruelty. He grew jealous of Banquo, the most powerful subject in his dominions. He invited him to an entertainmet, and treacherously ordered him to be murdered in his return; but Banquo's son Fleance, who was destined to the same fate, escaped. Here the deficiency of the Scotch historians, at so late a period, is amazing; but it is happily supplied by the English.

Edward the confessor's partiality to the Normans had raised up a strong opposition to his government in the person of the famous earl Godwin; but upon the conclusion of a peace, Edward was obliged to banish the Northumbrians, or at least, such of them that were obnoxious; and particularly two noblemen, whom the historians of those times call Osbern and Hugh, who, with their numerous followers, retired to Scotland, where they were kindly received by Macbeth. This naturally rendered the Antinormannic party in England jealous of Macbeth's intentions; and prompted Malcolm's father-in-law, Syward, to be more assiduous in contributing towards his restoration. There is some reason to believe, that the general dissatisfaction of the Scots at Macbeth's government was so great, that had it not been for the Normans, he could not have supported himself as he did for almost seventeen years upon the throne, which is the time allotted by Fordun to his reign. The arrival of the Normans in Scotland was in the year 1054, which corresponds with the fourteenth year of Macbeth's reign; nor do I perceive that any doubt was raised concerning the legality of his government, till about that period; for Malcolm seems to have lived in his principality of Cumberland, without any thoughts of remounting his father's throne. The encreasing tyranny of Macbeth soon gave him that opportunity.

After the death of Banquo, and the flight of his son Fleance into Wales, Macduff, the thane of Fife, seems to have been the most considerable nobleman in Scotland. The influence he possessed was sufficient to render him suspected by Macbeth; but Macduff was so cautious and prudent, that no



legal hold could be laid on his actions, which drove the tyrant so much from his guard, that he dropt some expressions even in Macduff's hearing, which convinced the latter his destruction was intended; upon this he fled into England. Macbeth, alarmed at his escape, entered his castle, and basely put to death his wife and children, who were yet infants; and sequestered all his estate. I am here to observe, however, that Fordun does not mention the murders, though he does the confiscation; and his words upon that occasion are so very remarkable, that they well deserve to be translated here: "There arose (says he) a great discontent all over the kingdom, especially among the nobles, by whom Macduff was greatly beloved; because the tyrant, swayed not by justice, but by passion, had banished and attainted a nobleman of such worth and power, without the award of a general meeting of the nobles and states. They exclaimed it was unjust that any person, be his rank noble or private, should be either banished or attainted by a sudden arbitrary sentence, without having a day prescribed to him for his appearance at court in a legal manner; and when appearing there, to be either banished or attainted by a sudden arbitrary sentence, without having a day prescribed to him for his appearance at court in a legal manner; and when appearing there, to be either cleared by law, if innocent; and, if found guilty, to make satisfaction to the king in his person or effects. But in case he should neglect to attend the court, then sentence of banishment ought to take place; or, if the nature of his crime so require, he ought to be attainted."

Many are the observations that occur from this passage; the only one I shall mention is, the great conformity which it discovers between the English and Scotch constitutions at this period, as we find that earl Godwin was tried exactly in the same manner as Fordun mentions to have been the legal method of trying Macduff. By what we learn from history, Macduff was the first who inspired Malcolm with the idea of invading Scotland to assert his hereditary right. That prince had been accustomed to caution; for we are told, that Mac-

beth had spies who gave him intelligence of whatever passed in the families which he suspected. When Macduff accosted him (it is immaterial whether that happened at the court of England, or in Cumberland) Malcolm affected a shyness, which has given rise to a ridiculous conversation handed down by the Scotch historians, as if he had confessed himself guilty of so many vices and crimes, that Macduff thought him unworthy to reign. That Malcolm, (who was a prince of excellent sense) was on the reserve, can scarcely, considering his circumstances, be doubted; but his frankness in confessing his guilt must have destroyed the very effects he intended. It is sufficient to say, he sisted Macduff in such a manner that he thought he could trust him; and they understood each other so well, that they immediately applied to the court of England, and to Syward, for assistance. Edward agreed to Syward's raising ten thousand men in England; and Macduff went to Scotland to apprize Malcolm's friends of his intention. Macbeth appears to have been well served by his Norman auxiliaries: for he fought the vanguard of Syward's army, and killed his son with his own hand. Upon Malcolm's advancing with the main body, and being joined by Macduff and his party, Macbeth took refuge in the most inaccessible places of the Highlands, where he defended himself for two years; but in the mean time, MALCOLM was crowned and acknowledged king of Scotland at Scone.

## C H A P. XII.

*From the Accession of MALCOLM KENMURE to the beginning of the reign of DAVID the first.*

**I**T is to the English historians that we are chiefly indebted for the history of Scotland, at this remarkable period 1057. Fordun is angry with William Malsbury, for ascribing the glory of Malcolm's restoration entirely to Syward; and says, that Syward was called back into England by Edward, in order to oppose Griffith, prince of Wales. We know not the

particulars of the war of Lumsfannan (as it is called) between Malcolm and Macbeth, and which lasted two years. Our common historians, to supply this chasm, have invented a prophecy for the tyrant, importing, that he was not to be killed by any man born of a woman; and another, that he should not die till Birnam wood should move to Dunsinnan (for so the castle was called in which he had fortified himself.) He was still attended by a number of followers; and one of the prophecies was made good, when Malcom ordered each of his soldiers (either to conceal their numbers, or to screen them from the heat of the weather) to advance to the attack of the castle under boughs, which they cut down in the wood. The circumstance of soldiers cutting down boughs was common in those days; and Malcolm and his friends might invent the fable for the sake of the application, to encourage their followers; though more probably it is of a much latter date. The tyrant, in a fally, was killed by Macduff, who, according to an idle tradition, came into the world by the Caesarean operation, being cut out of his mother's belly. I should not have mentioned these ridiculous tales which are omitted by our old historian, and condemned by Buchanan, did they not serve to discover the genius of the age and country in which they were invented, and where the priesthood had the skill to coin a prophecy for every event of importance.

The usurpation of Macbeth did not end with his life; for his followers elected one of his kinsmen, LULACH, surnamed the Idiot, to succeed him. Not being able to withstand Malcolm, he withdrew to the north; but being pursued, was killed at Essey in Strathbogie. He reigned four months; and having, as well as Macbeth, been crowned at Scone, the performance of that ceremony, probably, intitled him to a royal burial at Icolm-kill.

Among the first exercises of Malcolm III's government, was the debt of gratitude which he paid to Macduff, who had been the chief instrument of his restoration. Having been formerly crowned at Scone, he granted him and his posterity four privileges: the first was, That they should place the king in



his chair of state, at the time of his coronation: the second, that they should lead the van of all the royal armies; the third, that they should have a free regality within themselves; and the fourth, that if any of Macduff's family should be guilty of unpremeditatedly killing a nobleman, he should pay twenty-four, and if a plebeian, twelve marks, of silver; which last law (says Buchanan, who in this case may be allowed to be a competent evidence) was observed till the days of our fathers. The next care of Malcolm was to reinstate in their fathers' possessions, all the children who had been disinherited by the late tyrant, which he did in a convention of his nobles held at Forfar.

If any credit is to be given to Boece, Macbeth, during his reign, abolished the laws of inheritance, which had been established under his three predecessors, by ordering all the lands and offices in the kingdom to be at the king's disposal, and to revert to the crown when their possessor died: so that there was a plain resumption of the inconsiderate grants made by Malcolm Mac-Kenneth. Other laws very unfavourable to public liberty, were likewise enacted; particularly those which disarmed the people, and made it penal for any of the commons or husbandmen to keep a horse for any other purpose than that of tillage and labouring the ground. Thus the old constitution was again restored; and hereditary right to private estates, as well as to the crown, was again abolished.

Malcolm, whose education had been chiefly in England (where the introduction of the Normans, by Edward the Confessor, was beginning to introduce milder modes of the feudal government) being sensible of the force of words, found it would be very difficult to re-establish the hereditary system, without some alteration in the terms of dignities and offices. The word *Thane* carrying with it an idea incompatible with hereditary succession, it was changed into *Earl*, which had for sometime prevailed in England; and Macduff, from being thane, was created earl of Fife. Other dignities were said to have been instituted about the same time; and the custom of patronimical designations, by which every man was named af-

ter his father, with a *Mac* signifying *son*) prefixed to his surname, began to wear out; and the surname was fixed to a clan instead of a person. Surnames from the lands of the proprietors were introduced, and such local names are to this day reckoned the most honourable. Those institutions could not have taken place among a people so wedded as the Scots were to their former usages, had not Malcolm possessed a great fund of political, as well as personal abilities. It is reasonable to believe, that the cruelties of Macbeth had driven many of Malcolm's family-friends into foreign parts, from whence they now returned, and assisted him with the lights they brought from abroad. I am even inclined to believe that after his restoration, he gave encouragement for the Normans, and the other foreigners who had retired to Scotland during the preceding reign, to settle in his kingdom; and this might in a great measure contribute to the general improvement of manners which then took place.

While Malcolm was busy in those arduous matters, advice was brought him an insurrection of robbers in the southern parts of his dominions, near a place called Coekburn's path; upon which he sent one of his chief officers, lately created earl of Dunbar, to quell the insurgents, in which he happily succeeded. From this particular, we can have no doubt that Malcolm had been, before his coronation at Scone, recognized by Edward as prince of Cumberland. We are therefore carefully to distinguish between his succession to the English estates with those south of Forth, and that to his crown, which he possessed by hereditary right. After this, Fordun and the Scotch historians entertain us with the well-known story of a conspiracy formed against Malcolm; and of his drawing the chief conspirator aside into a wood, where, after upbraiding him with his treachery, he offered to fight him upon equal terms: upon which the traitor threw himself at the king's feet, confessed his guilt, and gave hostages for his future good behaviour. The recital of this story is sufficient to confute it. It is a fable of the times; and with a very little alteration, is the same as that told of Edgar and Kenneth,

which we have already mentioned. The like adventure is related, only with the difference of the names of several other kings.

Our Scotch historians have fixed the time of Malcolm's accession to his crown to the year 1056, though it is certain that he left England in 1054. Syward was now dead, and was succeeded in his government of Northumberland by Tosti, second son to the famous earl Godwin, and brother to Harold, afterwards king of England. As a great party had been formed against the Godwin family, and Harold made no secret of his design upon the crown, after the death of Edward, it was natural for Tosti to connect himself with Malcolm, as his surest ally; nor could Malcolm have any friend so powerful to serve him as Tosti, especially after the death of Edward the Outlaw, the true heir to the crown, whom Edward the Confessor had sent for from Hungary, to counterbalance the power and ambition of the Godwin family. We are accordingly told, that a strict intimacy was contracted between Malcolm and Tosti; but it was of no long continuance. Tosti was one of the many princes of that age, who had been guilty of frequent murders; so that, in order to quiet his conscience (after the manner of those times) he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. He was also so detested, that the Northumbrians complained of his repeated acts of cruelty, refusing to be longer subject to him. Edward was in a manner compelled by their clamour to grant a commission for trying him; and Tosti being found guilty, his own brother Harold joined the Northumbrians against him in favour of earl Morchar, who was Tosti's competitor for Northumberland.

This being the state of affairs in England, we can be at no loss to account for the reasons why Malcolm, at this time, invaded Tosti's dominions; for which we have the authority of the English historians. It was the duty of Malcolm, as a feodary of England, to be an enemy to all Edward's enemies; and no doubt he found his advantage in other respects from the part he acted. I am inclined to fix this invasion to the year 1064, when Tosti was at Rome, where he seems to have



made a very short stay, for he certainly was proscribed the beginning of next year : but neither the English nor the Scotch historians have informed us of any acquisition which Malcolm made by this invasion.

During his absence in England, where he visited Edward's court, and very possibly renewed his oath of fealty, some commotions seem to have happened in Murray, Ross, and the north and west parts of his dominions ; but they are said to have been quelled by a general who is named Walter, and was the son of Fleance, who escaped Macbeth's murderers by flying into Wales, where he begot this Walter on a Welch princess ; but I believe there is little more than tradition for this story. As to Walter, he undoubtedly was created high steward, of Scotland, for the great services he performed to Malcolm ) nor have we any reason to doubt his being the son of Fleance, and of his having returned to Scotland after Malcolm was settled on the throne. The high-stewardship was a dignity held by a service, and entitled the owner to all the privileges of a baron ; but Malcolm, no doubt, added to it considerable estates. We are informed, that he served the king in Galloway likewise ; and that he was highly instrumental in curbing the tyranny of the great lords over their inferiors : but we are now upon the eve of the greatest revolution that ever happened in Britain ; I mean, the conquest of England by the Normans.

It is foreign to my purpose to relate the particulars of that conquest farther than it is connected with the history of Scotland. Upon the death of Edward the Confessor, Harold seized the throne of England, notwithstanding Edgar, son of Edward the Outlaw, was then at the English court, and undoubtedly heir to the crown. The truth is, Edgar was a weak prince, and Harold being victorious over all opposition, particularly from his brother Tosti, was quietly recognized by the English for their king. He had, however, the magnanimity to create Edgar, who was surnamed Atheling (or royal) earl of Oxford, and to treat him with great respect. In short, by his justice and moderation, he shewed himself worthy of

the dignity he usurped. Upon Harold's defeat and death, and the accession of William the Norman to the crown of England, the latter plainly discovered some jealousy of Edgar. We shall not here discuss the question, how far Edgar forfeited his right, by acknowledging Harold for his sovereign. It is sufficient to say, that if the right of blood could have availed him, his title was better than even that of the Confessor. Upon William's paying a visit to his Norman dominions, he appointed Edgar to attend him, and some other noblemen, whom he suspected to be in his interest; but upon his return to England, he found the people so disaffected to his government, that he proceeded with great severity; so that numbers of his English subjects took refuge into Cumberland, and other parts of Malcolm's southern dominions. Edgar's unassuming disposition seems to have preserved him from the conspiracies which the Anglo-Saxons were now daily forming against William and his Normans; for it does not appear from any good English historian, that he ever was in the field against the Conqueror. Edgar had two sisters, Margaret and Christina; and his two chief friends were Gospatric and Marleswin, who soon rendered him sensible how precariously he held his life under a jealous tyrant; and persuaded him to make preparations for flying by sea, with his sisters, to Hungary or some foreign country.

This resolution probably was formed while William was in the north of England, where he reduced York, with all that country. We know of no attempts he made again Malcolm; but Egelwin, bishop of Durham, pleaded great merit with him for having disposed Malcolm to renew the peace with William, as it stood in the days of Edward the Confessor. I am therefore inclined to believe, that Malcolm had, at this time, formed no connections with Edgar; and that William himself connived at Edgar's escaping to a country from whence he had nothing to fear. Be this as it may (for it is a matter of doubt) Edgar, attended by his mother Agatha, his two sisters, and a great train of Anglo-Saxon noblemen, embarked on board a small squadron; which, by stress of weather

was forced into the frith of Forth, where the illustrious exiles landed, at a place since called the Queen's-Ferry. Malcolm no sooner heard of their landing than he paid them a visit in person, and fell in love with the princess Margaret.

It must be acknowledged, that this was a bold step in Malcolm, as he could not but foresee the consequences; but it is more than probable that his great dependence was upon the Anglo-Saxon party in England, the heads of which no sooner heard of Edgar's landing in Scotland, than they repaired to Malcolm's court. It was not long before William formally demanded that Edgar should be given up to him; which Malcolm refused; and, upon this, war was declared between the two nations. Hoveden, and some other English historians, have represented this event in a different light, as if the whole had been contrived between Malcolm and Edgar; and they tell us, that the former was making war in the north of England, when Edgar landed at the Queen's Ferry. In the relation I have given, I have been determined by Turgot, archbishop of St. Andrew's and confessor to Margaret, whose life he wrote; and Eadred, abbot of Redewal, who wrote it likewise, and lived near the time.

Besides the Anglo-Saxon noblemen, many of the clergy (some say Stigand and Aldred, the two English archbishops) joined Edgar in Scotland. Though the power of Malcolm was inconsiderable, compared to that of William, yet his English auxiliaries assisted him so effectually, that the Norman found great difficulty even to keep his own countrymen in their duty. He was obliged to give up the county of Northumberland to Gospatric (probably the same who had attended Edgar in his flight, and who was related to the Anglo-Saxon royal family) upon condition of his making war upon the Scots. Gospatric accordingly invaded Cumberland; but his visit was repaid by Malcolm's filling Northumberland, and all the north of England, with his ravages; and returning to his own country with a vast booty in prisoners and effects. But this was not the only method by which Malcolm fought to distress William; for he sent ambassadors to Denmark and



Ireland, to invite their princes to join him in a confederacy against that conqueror.

The Danes, even at this time, kept up their claims upon the crown of England; so that they could not be supposed to be very zealous for Edgar. The Irish had received under their protection the three sons of the late Harold, king of England; and it was natural for him to plead a family-right to their father's crown. All parties, however, were united against William; but when they came to particular stipulations, no general confederacy could be formed; and thus Malcolm's plan fell to the ground. The three sons of Harold made a descent upon Somersetshire with a body of Irish, to which William opposed one of English; but the latter were defeated; and it soon appeared that the Irish, by returning with a large booty to their ships, after ravaging the country, had only served for plunder. The Danes acted with more caution than the Irish, probably with a view of getting once more footing in England; and landing at the mouth of the Humber, in two hundred and forty small ships, they were joined by Edgar and his party. This descent threatened to overthrow the Norman government in England. William had taken the earldom of Northumberland from Gospatric, and given it to Robert Cummin, one of his Norman barons, who thought that he had little else to do than to take possession of his new dignity; but he was deceived.

The Northumbrians had joined Gospatric, and received the Danes as their countrymen, while Malcolm lay in the neighbourhood with an army ready to support them. Before a junction could be formed, the Northumbrians had entered into a conspiracy to murder all the Normans who fell into their hands; which they accordingly executed upon Cummin and his followers at Durham, where they had been guilty of great cruelties. After this, they attacked the forts which William had built at York; but not being able to take them, in the middle of December, the English, Scots, and Danes, united their arms, and marching towards York took that city, and put to the sword three thousand Normans who were there in

garrison. This success was followed by incursions and ravages into the country of England, where the Danes and Northumbrians acquired a great booty.

It soon appeared that the Danes and Northumbrians, who considered themselves almost as one people, were no more in earnest than the Irish, to assist Edgar; and that all his dependence was upon Malcolm, and the few southern English who had followed his fortunes; for the Northumbrians and Danes were no sooner masters of the booty, than the former retired to their habitations, and the latter to their ships. William, haughty as he was, deigned to court the English upon this occasion, by restoring the Saxon laws, and mitigating the severity of the Normannic government. This compliance, together with the ravages lately committed in England, re-established his authority; and he saw himself again at the head of an army, with which he set out for the North. After a very difficult march, occasioned by the rains, he arrived in Yorkshire, where he took a severe revenge upon the Northumbrians (great part of Yorkshire lying in Northumberland;) and though he met with a brave opposition from earl Waltheof, son to Syward, he took York, and put to death all its inhabitants. After this, perceiving that the Danes still lay hovering upon the coast; and being apprehensive that they might join Malcolm, who was at the head of a strong army, he sent a sum of money to Osbern, their general, and brother to their king, with an offer of what provisions he pleased to accept of, provided he would return to Denmark; and Osbern accordingly complied with the terms.

It is probable that Malcolm, perceiving this sudden turn in favour of William, withdrew to his own dominions, where he lay upon the defensive. Upon his retreat, William took possession of Durham, wintered at York, and received the submissions of Waltheof and Gospatric; creating the former earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and giving him his own niece in marriage. Soon after, William marched to Wales, where he quelled an insurrection; and Edgar, on the retreat of the Danes, returned to Scotland, where Mal-

colin was making great preparations once more to invade England. Other historians are of opinion, that he did not join Malcolm, till the army of the latter was upon its march towards England.

This part of our history falls in with the year 1071. The English historians have been very severe upon Malcolm's barbarity during this invasion; and possibly, in some instances, it may not be defensible. We are, however, to recollect, that the Northumbrians and Danes had, by this time, abandoned both Edgar and Malcolm, after giving them the strongest assurances of fidelity: and the Scotch historians (who are not very correct as to French or English names) have mentioned several very cruel inroads into Malcolm's dominions before this time. Fordun mentions particularly, an invasion of Scotland by Odo, bishop of Bayeux, brother to William, who was defeated by Malcolm at the mouth of the Humber; but the English historians are not clear as to the fact; and I follow them chiefly at this period. According to them, Malcolm invaded England by Cumberland, ravaged Teesdale, and, at a place called Hundreds-keld, near Barnard-castle, killed some English noblemen, with all their followers. He next wasted Cleveland, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; renewed his ravages in the neighbourhood; sent back the booty with part of his army to Scotland; and pillaged the bishopric of Durham, where he is said not to have spared the most sacred edifices, and to have burnt them to the ground.

Gospatric, to whom William had lately ceded Northumberland, in the mean time attempted to make a diversion to Malcolm, by falling into his principality of Cumberland. There is reason for believing that Malcolm had taken care to guard that principality with the troops which had carried off his booty; for Gospatric was repulsed, and obliged to shut himself up in Bamborough-castle. It can afford neither instruction nor amusement to the reader, to give a detail of all the cruelties, which Malcolm is accused of having committed, after this, in the North of England. There is one reason for believing them to have been exaggerated by Simeon of Dur-



ham and other English historians, which is, that no country seems capable of supplying such ravages; though it is very probable that the war was carried on with great fury on both sides, and that Malcolm brought off with him a great number of English captives, with whom he peopled the southern part of his dominions. Upon the whole, one of the reasons why I have preferred the English and Norman to the Scotch historians, in the warlike accounts of this reign, is, because the former must undoubtedly have been better instructed than the later were, in the names of their generals and noblemen, as well as of places within their own dominions. Besides an earl Roger, who, as the Scots say, invaded Scotland, they tell us of an earl of Gloucester, both of whom were defeated by Malcolm and his generals. Besides Odo, brother to king William, they have given the command of another army to that conqueror's son, Robert, surnamed Curtois, who secretly befriended Edgar, and did nothing worth mentioning. The English histories take no notice of those generals, or their defeats; and nothing is more likely, than that William trusted for the defence of Northumberland and the northern parts to those noblemen, whether English or Northumbrian, to whom he had granted them in fee.

Even the English historians admit, that, at the period I now treat of, Malcolm was victorious, and carried back his army to Scotland in triumph. It does not clearly appear, whether Malcolm had been married to the princess Margaret, Edgar's sister, before his return from this ruinous expedition into England. Archbishop Turgot, and the abbot Ealred, whom I have already mentioned, intimate that the marriage took place immediately upon Edgar's arrival in Scotland; other writers fix it to the year 1070, and the English historians a year later; and all agree that it was celebrated at Dunfermline, where Malcolm had a palace. Perhaps the nuptials were not solemnized till the last-mentioned year; and this is the more probable, as from that period the temper and disposition of Malcolm took a new and a favourable turn towards humanity. We are obliged to the English historians for the know-

ledge of the following fact, which happened at the same time. Fredric, abbot of St. Alban's perceiving the miseries of the English under the Norman government, entered into a conspiracy against William, and sent to Scotland for Edgar, who accordingly repaired to England, to head the insurrection. His name was so popular, that William did not chuse to employ force in quelling the conspiracy; but took an oath at Berkhamstead to govern the English by their own laws. Upon this the conspirators laid down their arms; and Edgar, notwithstanding the various means William used to secure his person, escaped back to Scotland. William was no sooner freed from this danger, than he disregarded all the terms he had so lately sworn to; and heaped fresh cruelties upon the English, who no longer having Edgar to head them, were forced to shelter themselves in the Isle of Ely, and other remote fortresses. Those who assembled in the Isle made a most formidable stand, and chose Hereward, a nobleman of great distinction, for their chief. They were joined by the bishop of Durham, and some other noblemen who had, like him taken refuge in Scotland. William marched against them with an army, and with great difficulty dislodged them out of the Isle; and the brave Hereward escaped through the Fens to Scotland.

When we compare all circumstances, and reflect on the vast resources which William had, both in England and from the continent, it is amazing that Malcolm should have made such a stand as he did against his power. William's conquest of the Isle of Ely, which happened in the year 1072, afforded him leisure to raise an army, which might strike at the root of all his dangers, by enabling him to invade Scotland. The English historians have been very pompous in their accounts of this expedition; and the difficulties William met with, give us some idea of Malcolm's power and policy; tho' some parts of the conqueror's conduct are some what unaccountable. We are told, for instance, that he invaded Scotland, by Galloway, which is at present the westernmost part of the kingdom. From this, all we can conclude is, that this

invasion was carried on both by sea and land; and that William made a descent in the mouth of Solway-frith, or in Wigton-bay; for it is certain that he found Yorkshire, Northumberland, Durham, and Richmond-shire, so depopulated and ravaged, that he could not march through them. The Saxon Chronicle expressly says, that he blocked up the Scots by sea; and that he marched his land forces to a certain river, which, by the similiarity of the name, the right reverend editor of that Chronicle thinks (though improbably) to have been the Tweed. The same Chronicle says, that in his land march he found nothing which could be of service to him. Polydore Virgil, the foreign historian of English affairs, informs us, that William penetrated into Galloway, because that he understood that it was the chief receptacle for his English enemies. I am rather inclined to believe, that as this country was not then subject to Scotland, or but very imperfectly so, and governed by a separate prince, William was in hopes of being joined by the inhabitants, who had but a very few years before been at war with the Scots. I throw out these hints only by way of conjecture, and shall now pursue the thread of the history.

William found so little encouragement in Galloway, that having in vain harrassed his troops by marching over its hills and through its deserts, he struck through Clydsdale, and proceeded directly to Lothian, where Malcolm lay with his army. Both princes, for some days, faced each other; but neither inclined to fight, if they could avoid it with honour. The English army was probably fatigued; and if defeated, must have been without resources. On the other hand, the loss of a battle to Malcolm might have been attended with that of his crown and kingdom. After long deliberation, a peace was agreed upon; Malcolm consenting to pay homage to William. The Scotch historians themselves agree with the English as to those facts; but contend that the homage Malcolm then paid, was only for his English possessions; and both parties say, that William received it at Abernethy, which lies north of the Forth, and was formerly the capital of the



Pictish kingdom. It is likewise admitted, that; upon the conclusion of the peace, a cross was erected at Stanmore, in Richmondshire, with the arms of both kings, to serve as a boundary between Malcolm's feudal possessions in England, and those of William. Part of this monument, which is called Re-cross, or rather the Roy cross, or cross of the kings, was entire in the days of Camden.

It appears from the best of our historians, that Malcolm had, for some time, refused to pay homage for Cumberland to William, for the same reason that his predecessor, Malcolm the second, refused to pay it to the Danes, because he was not the heir of the Anglo-Saxon princes. The assertion of Hollinshed and modern English historians, that Malcolm paid homage for all Scotland, is founded on the authority of the monk Ingulphus, which must be of very little importance; because, in the first place, he says that William then conquered all Scotland, which is a notorious falsehood; and in the next, he does not specify the territories for which the homage was paid. The truth is, William seems to have been as fond as Malcolm was of peace, and it was concluded upon terms highly to the honour of the latter; because William agreed, that the English exiles should be pardoned; and that Malcolm should re-enter into the possession of his English dominions, upon his performing for them the same homage as his predecessors had done to the former kings of England. It is added, that William demanded Malcolm should not, for the future, give protection to the English exiles in Scotland; and that those who were already there, should be readmitted to their estates and honours, upon their properly recognizing William's right to the English crown. As to the homage paid by Malcolm, it could be no derogation to his honour, as it was only for the English estates he held; and the like homage was paid by William himself and his successors, for their French possessions. Edward the first, it is true, in his claim of superiority over the Scotch nation, mentions this homage to have been paid for all Scotland; but he does it upon evidences I have already examined and disproved; and later English wri-

ters were so sensible of their weakness that they have had recourse to the most manifest forgeries, in support of his pretensions: indeed, it would be mispending the reader's time to answer arguments which refute themselves.

The establishment of peace between Malcolm and William, introduced a total alteration of manners among the Scots. Many causes contributed to this; but the chief was the excellent disposition of Malcolm's queen, the pattern not only of piety, but politeness, for that age. The next was the great number of foreigners who had settled in Scotland; among whom, if I mistake not, were some French, as Malcolm, by his differences with William, became the natural ally of the king of France, who, we are told, furnished him with some auxiliaries. The third cause I shall mention, was the fair opportunity which the new established peace offered to Malcolm, for softening the natural ferocity of his subjects. As to Malcolm himself, the prodigious devastations which he carried through England, shew him to have been, by habit, a barbarian; but his after-conduct proves him to have been endued with all the qualities befitting a great prince.

During Malcolm's absence in England, his excellent queen chose Turgot not only for her confessor, but her assistant in her intended reformation of the kingdom. She began with her own court, which she new-modelled, by introducing into it the offices, furniture, and modes of life, that were usual among the more polite nations of Europe. She dismissed from her service, all who were noted for immorality and impiety; and she charged Turgot, upon pain of her displeasure, to give her his real sentiments upon the state of the kingdom, after the best enquiry he could make. Turgot's report was by no means favourable to the reputation of the Scots. He informed Margaret, that faction raged among the nobles; rapine among the commons; and incontinence among all degrees of men. Above all, he complained of the kingdom being destitute of a learned clergy, capable of reforming the people by their example and doctrine. The queen was not discouraged by this report, and soon made her husband sen-

sible how necessary it was for his glory and safety, to second her efforts for reforming his subjects. She represented to him particularly, the corruption of justice, and the insolence of military men; and found in him a ready disposition for reforming all abuses. He accordingly began the great work, by setting the example in his own person, and obliging his nobility to follow it.

A people, like the Scots, long habituated to a rapine, and the oppression of their inferiors, in which they were indulged by the feudal laws, thought all restrictions of their power were so many steps towards their slavery. The introduction of foreign offices and titles confirmed them in this opinion; and an insurrection happened in Ross, Murray, and Marr, beheaded by one Mac Duncan, so dangerous, that Malcolm thought proper to march in person against the rebels. Being advanced as far as Monimusk, he had certain intelligence that they were drawn up on the farther banks of the Spey, and consisted of all the clans in the North and West. Malcolm, upon this, vowed, after the manner of those times, to grant the lands of Monimusk to the church of St. Andrew's, if he should return victorious from his expedition. We are to observe, that he had sent before him Macduff, with an army, to attack the rebels, whom that nobleman found so powerful, that he durst not advance till he was joined by Malcolm. When the latter came to the banks of the Spey, he saw the rebels drawn up in much better order, and making a more formidable appearance, than he expected; but this was far from daunting Malcolm, that he ordered his troops to advance, and pass the river, though the most impetuous of any in Scotland. His standard-bearer seeming to make a halt, Malcolm plucked the banner from his hands, and gave it to a brave knight, Sir Alexander Carron, who immediately plunged into the stream. Such a shew of resolution discouraged the insurgents; and they employed their clergy, an order of men whom they knew Malcolm regarded, to interced for their pardon. Those fathers, accordingly, appearing on the farther bank in a posture of humiliation, Malcolm gave orders for their being ferried over,



which they accordingly were; and he received their submissions. Malcolm, however, refused to grant them an unconditional pardon. He gave the common people, whom he knew to be the slaves of their chieftains, liberty to return to their respective habitations; but insisted on all the better sort surrendering themselves to his pleasure. This they were obliged to comply with. MacDuncan and several of the ring-leaders were either put to death, or had their land forfeited, while many were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and their estates confiscated.

Our historians have been fond of sending Walter the steward, at this time, into Galloway, where he again subdued the rebels; but, though this is by no means improbable, perhaps it was the same expedition that we have already mentioned as the origin of the Steward-family. The peace of Scotland being again restored, Malcolm returned to his schemes of reformation. He found the feudal institutions so deeply rooted among his people, that he durst not entirely abolish the infamous practice of the landlord claiming the first night with his tenant's bride; but we certainly know that, by the queen's influence, this privilege was commuted into the payment of a piece of money by the bridgroom, and has been since known by the name of *Mercheta Mulierum*, or The Woman's Mark. By the best accounts, the Scots of those days were without the practice of saying grace after their meals, till it was introduced by Margaret, who gave a glass of wine, or other liquor, to every guest who remained at the royal table, and heard the thanksgiving; and this innocent expedient gave rise to the term of the Grace-drink. It cannot, however, be denied that superstition had a great share in the reformation then brought about. The queen and Turgot began by regulating the duration of Lent, and the time of Easter; and, according to Fordun, the king administered meat and drink to a certain number of poor people with his own hands, every day. Turgot tells us, that the queen not only did the same, but bestowed large alms of silver among the needy, and washed the faces of six of their number.

Princes who, in their own persons, applied themselves to such devotional exercises, could not be supposed to stop there. The bishoprics of Murray and Caithness were then founded; those of Murlach, Galloway, St. Andrew's, and Glasgow, were endowed with additional lands and revenues; and all the dilapidations which the episcopal estates had suffered during the late wars, were repaired. Parish-churches were rebuilt and ornamented by the royal bounty; but above all, Malcolm's favourite residence, the palace of Dunfermline, was embellished and enriched; for the queen not only caused a stately church to be built there from the foundation, but endowed it with vessels of gold and silver; and besides other jewels of immense value, she bequeathed to it in her own life-time, the famous black cross, which was composed of diamonds, and had been brought to Scotland by her brother Edgar, as being one of the royal jewels of England. A monastery was likewise founded here by Malcolm, and endowed with great privileges. These instances are sufficient to shew how very considerable a progress Malcolm and his queen made, in the introduction of piety, and the amendment of manners, among their subjects.

Notwithstanding these noble regulations, some historians have (I believe with great justice) complained, that with the manners of the English and the French, their luxuries were introduced into Scotland. The Scots, till this reign, had been remarkable for the sobriety and simplicity of their fare, which was now converted into excess and riot, and sometimes ended fatally by broils and bloodshed. We are told at the same time, that even in those days their nobility eat only twice a day, and were served with no more than two dishes at each meal; but that their deviation from their antient temperance, occasioned a diminution of the strength and size of the people.

Edgar Atheling returned to England the year after the conclusion of the peace between William and Malcolm, where he had large appointments settled upon him; but we know of no attempts he made against the established government, tho' the North of England was then full of confusion and blood-

shed. After William had left Scotland, he striped Gospatric of Northumberland, either because it had been so stipulated in the late peace, or because he was dissatisfied with his conduct when he commanded against the Scots, and especially for the share he had in the death of Cummin. He was succeeded by earl Waltheof, Syward's son; but this part of history is not without its difficulties; for I strongly suspect, that Gospatric never was possessed of all Northumberland, though he had a large estate in that country; and there seems to have been certain provincial names, which among the Danish race were appropriated indiscriminately to their great men. Thus several Waltheofs, Sywards, and Gospatrics, might exist at the same time, and might be successively possessed of the same lands; and this indentity of appellations necessarily creates a confusion in history. We cannot therefore be positive, that this kinsman of Malcolm was the same earl Waltheof, who, after discovering a dangerous conspiracy, which William quelled, was by his order, afterwards, most ungratefully beheaded at Winchester, in 1074.

There is, however, a great presumption that he was the same; and that Malcolm's resentment for his death, occasioned his invasion of England in 1077. It was probably at this time, that the Scots, under the earl of Dunbar, defeated the two Norman noblemen I have already mentioned, Robert and Richard; for I perceive that William then brought over to England his son Robert to command against the Scots; and it is unquestionable that, soon after, his brother, the warlike bishop of Bayeux, actually did march against them with an army. From those circumstances we may form some idea of the confusion introduced into the Scotch history, by the disregard of all its old writers to method and chronology. The murder of bishop Walcher (who, after Waltheof's death, had either purchased or obtained his estates from William) by the Northumbrians, falls within this period; and it was to reduce those rebels, that the bishop of Bayeux was sent to the North. Malcolm was then in arms; and had entered into a correspondence with the Danes for invading England. This



having come to William's knowledge, he sent orders to his brother to be particularly attentive to the sea-coasts, in case the Danes should land; and we accordingly find, that except laying waste the country, in order to cut off the subsistence of the Danes, Odo did nothing of importance, either against the rebel Northumbrians or the Scots. I am now arrived to the year 1080, when Odo being recalled from his command, was succeeded in it by Robert, William's eldest son, one of the most warlike, but unambitious princes of the age. We have no authority from the English historians which countenances those of Scotland in saying, that Robert was defeated by Malcolm; nor do we know of any action he performed, except that of planning out a town, which is now so well known by the name of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The invasion of England by the Danes certainly failed, through the vigilance of William, and by the force of his money, which bribed their chief counsellors. In the year 1085, William carried over Edgar Atheling with him to Normandy, and there they parted. The Saxon Chronicle (the best historical authority of those times) says, that he there deserted William; but by this we are only to understand, that Edgar took his leave of him; and that he went with two hundred knights to Italy, from whence he proceeded on a crusade to the Holy Land. The safety of Edgar, when in the power of such a prince as William, was undoubtedly owing to Malcolm, who in case of Edgar's death, would have been a formidable competitor for the English crown. William, however, was safe in Edgar's weakness and inactivity; and this seems to have been the true source of his generosity to that unambitious prince. William soon after died in France; and the adventures of Edgar, during the intermediate time, are unknown.

The death of the Conqueror, and the accession of William Rufus to his throne, altered the whole system of Malcolm's connections with England. He considered Rufus as usurping not only the right of Edgar, but of his elder brother Robert. No sooner was the death of the Conqueror known to Edgar,

than he repaired to France, where he was kindly received, and nobly entertained by Robert; but when matters were compromised between the two brothers, Rufus persuaded Robert to withdraw his countenance from Edgar, while he confiscated all those estates in England, which the Conqueror had given him. This severity was occasioned by the preparations Malcolm was making for invading England, which Rufus persuaded Robert, an easy, impolitic prince, were intended to place Edgar on the English throne. Malcolm, who was then in the height of his glory, saw Edgar once more reduced to throw himself upon his protection, and he received him as formerly, with the greatest affection and respect, though he seems to have had no reason to be pleased with his conduct. He was at the time of Edgar's arrival, at the head of a brave, well disciplined army, and preparing to invade England. The beginning of May, Malcolm without resistance penetrated a great way into the country, making a vast booty, with which he returned to Scotland. The Saxon Chronicle intimates, that he was beaten by William's lieutenants; but Florence of Worcester and other historians only say, that it was the will of Providence he should advance no further: an expression which more modern writers are at a loss to account for, as also for Malcolm's hasty return from so promising an expedition.

The Scotch histories tell us, that Malcolm was provoked to this invasion by the injustice of William's lieutenants, who had seized his castle of Alnwick, and of William himself, who had sequestered into his own hands twelve fine manors that had been given him by the Conqueror. The English chronicles agree with those of Scotland as to these facts; but I am apt to believe that the castle of Alnwick was surprized while Malcolm was in the more southerly parts: and that the true reason of his return to Scotland, was the certain intelligence he had, that William, with his elder and younger brothers, were on their return from France to England, which accordingly happened in the autumn of this year. Upon their arrival, William raised great armaments both by sea and land, to invade Scotland. His fleet was dashed to pieces by storms and

tempests, and all who were on board of it perished. Malcolm had foreseen the invasion by land, and had so effectually laid waste the counties through which the English army was to pass, that William lost great part of his troops by fatigue and famine; and when he arrived in Scotland, found himself in no condition to prosecute his ambitious schemes, especially as Malcolm was advancing against him with a powerful army.

Rufus, in this distress, had recourse to Robert de Mowbra, earl of Northumberland, who dissuaded him from venturing a battle; but counselled him, if possible, to open a negotiation by means of Edgar and the other English noblemen residing with Malcolm. His advice proved salutary and successful. Edgar being applied to, and having obtained a promise, of being restored to his English estate, undertook the negotiation, which seems to have been a matter of more difficulty than he had apprehended. According to Odericus Vitalis, who lived at the time, and was well acquainted with the public affairs, Malcolm had never yet recognized the right of Rufus to the English crown, and therefore he refused to treat with him as a sovereign prince, but offered to enter into a negotiation with his elder brother Robert. Robert, very probably at William's desire, gave Malcolm the meeting; and the latter, carrying him to an eminence, shewed him the disposition of his army, and offered, if Robert would give him leave, to cut off his younger brother, and to pay him the allegiance that was due for his English possessions. Robert generously answered, That he had resigned to Rufus his right of primogeniture in England; that he had even become one of William's subjects there, by accepting of an English estate. The mention of this interview has been unaccountably omitted by all the Scotch historians, though one of the most remarkable circumstances of Malcolm's reign, as it displays, better than any other that I know of, his principles and politics. From it we learn, that he considered the pretensions of Edgar to the crown of England as being extinguished, and that the homage he had already paid to the Conqueror was due to his eldest son. It appears, however, that he thought the abdication



of Robert left him at liberty to treat with William. An interview between them accordingly followed; and many difficulties being surmounted, a treaty was concluded; by which it was agreed, that Malcolm should yield the same obedience to Rufus, as he had done to his father the conqueror: that William should restore to Malcolm, the twelve manors in dispute, together with his other English possessions; and give him likewise twelve marks of gold yearly, besides restoring Edgar to all his English estates.

That, this treaty was concluded in Lothian, and not at Leeds, in Yorkshire (as the Scotch historians contend) is next to certain, not only from the testimony of the English chronicles, but from the circumstance of William, upon his returning from the place of treaty, having taken a liking to the situation of Carlisle, which he intended to fortify.

William thought this treaty so dishonourable on his part, that he resolved not to fulfil it; and it is generally agreed that necessity alone forced him to conclude it. He carried Edgar back with him to England, where he found that some of his noblemen had conquered part of the Welch borders, and that his affairs were in a state of great security. Robert and Edgar having been the principal instruments in completing the late negociation, began to remind William of his engagements with themselves, as well as with Malcolm; but his answers were so evasive, that they plainly saw he was resolved to perform nothing: upon which they threw themselves on ship-board, and passed over to Normandy. Upon their departure, William applied himself to fortify his northern barrier, and especially Carlisle (which had been two hundred years before destroyed by the Danes;) but as it lay within Malcolm's feudal dominions, and as its situation was of great importance, it was then possessed by one Dolphin, whom, with his followers, William expelled, and began to build a new castle within the town; which Malcolm complained of as a breach of the late treaty. Soon after this, William fell ill; but upon his recovery, in autumn, Malcolm repaired to his court, at Gloucester, that he might have a personal interview with

William; and redress of all his complaints; and lastly, to conclude a new treaty, which might finish all disputes between the two nations for the future. Upon his arrival, he found he could get no admittance to William's presence, without having first performed his homage, and submitted to the judgment of his barons in full court. We are told that Malcolm refused to do either; because he was only obliged, by the late treaty, to do homage in the same manner as the former kings of Scotland had done it to William's predecessors, and as he himself had performed it to the conqueror; that is, upon the confines of both kingdoms. William rejected his reasons; and peremptorily insisting upon his compliance, Malcolm left England in a rage.

I have given the last-mentioned transaction at Gloucester from unquestionable authors, who seem to blame William for his haughtiness. I am, however, of opinion, that Malcolm's refusal of doing homage arose from the terms not being complied with upon which he was to perform it; and that the real intention of William was, to try him as an English peer, upon some charge which was easy to be invented. Be this as it may, upon Malcolm's return to Scotland, he raised a new army, and besieged Alnwick.

Robert de Mowbray, the then governor or earl of Northumberland, raised some forces to oppose Malcolm; but could not prevent the siege being carried on with great vigour. According to Fordun and other Scotch historians, the place was reduced to such streights, that a knight came out of the castle, with its keys on the point of it his spear; and telling those whom he met that he was come to lay them at Malcolm's feet. That prince, unarmed as he was, advancing to receive them, was by the traitor run through the eye, and killed upon the spot. They add, that prince Edward, Malcolm's eldest son, was mortally wounded in endeavouring to revenge his father's death; and Fordun says, he died three days after. The English historians on the other hand contend, that Malcolm was surprized in his camp by Mowbray; that he was killed by one Morel de Baebaburh; that his son fell at the

same time ; and that their army suffered a total rout. Upon comparing circumstances, I cannot help giving the preference to the English relation, that of the Scotch being full of inconsistencies. It is very possible, that Malcolm might have been treating with the governor of the garrison about a surrender, when his army was surprized by Mowbray ; and there is nothing improbable in our supposing him to have been killed in the attack, perhaps by the very man with whom he was treating, and who might have been in concert with Mowbray. This is the utmost we can allow to the Scotch narrative ; and it accounts for prince Edward being mortally wounded, as Fordun says he was, during the confusion occasioned by the attack. The relation of the Scots is the more improbable, by their childishly alledging that the surname of Percy, an old Norman barony, took its rise from the manner in which Malcolm was killed. They are better founded when they tell us, that their excellent queen Margaret was then lying ill within the castle of Edinburgh, where she died, four days after her husband. It is certain, that Malcolm's body was discovered, and carried in a cart by some country fellows of Tinmouth church, where it lay buried, together with that of his son, till both of them were removed some years after to the abbey of Dunfermline \*.

Malcolm's issue by Margaret was as follows : Edward, who was killed as we have already mentioned ; Edmund, who died in England the same year his father was slain. Some say, that he was a brave and a valiant prince, and that he had retired from the world at the time of his death : but William of Malsbury gives us a very different idea of him ; for he says, that he was accessory to his elder brother's death (by which it

\* The following epitaph, composed by some Scotchman who probably was contemporary with Malcolm, takes no notice of his having been treacherously run through the eye :

“ Ter deca quinque valens armis, & mensibus octo,  
MALCOLMUS, sanctus rex erat in SCOTIA.  
ANGLORUM gladiis in bello sternitur heros,  
Hic rex in SCOTIA primus humatus erat.”

The meaning of the last line is, that he was the first king of Scotland not buried at Icolm-kill.



seem as if he had served in the English army) and that he had agreed to divide the kingdom with his bastard-brother Duncan; but being discovered, he was taken and thrown into prison, where he died a sincere penitent, desiring that he might be buried in the irons with which he was loaded. I am apt to believe Malmbury's relation. Of Ethelred, the third son, we know nothing, but that he was buried at St. Andrew's; and we shall hereafter have occasion to mention his three younger sons; Edgar, Alexander, and David. The daughters were, Matilda or Maud, married to Henry the first of England; and Mary, the wife of Eustace, count of Bouillon, brother to Godfrey and Baldwin, successively kings of Jerusalem.

Malcolm, who was killed the sixth of June, and the thirty-sixth year of his reign, was a very extraordinary prince for that age: and though there is reason to suspect his historians, who were churchmen, of partiality, yet the English historians leave us no room to doubt of his valour and prowess. The barbarous manner in which he made war is to be charged upon the times; and it was his peculiar felicity to have for his wife, a woman whose amiable virtues softened the ferocity both of him and his subjects. But after all I have said, the state of Scotland at the time of his death, affords strong reason to suspect, that we have only the bright side of his character and actions.

It appeared in a few days after Malcolm's death, that his own authority and courage alone had given tranquillity, but without any stability, to the internal government of his kingdom. Notwithstanding all that had been done by himself and his family, to render the succession hereditary, though they were princes of exemplary virtues, and though their succession had been broken into by a detestable tyrant, yet such was the prevalent love which the Scots had for the collateral succession to their crown, that during all his reign, a strong party in its favour was lurking in the kingdom. At the head of this was his brother Donald, surnamed Bane, whose name is not mentioned in the long reign of Malcolm; but who appears to have

retired in discontent to the Islands and Highlands, where his partizans were so numerous, as well as in the Lowlands, that there does not seem to have been even a struggle for the son of Malcolm, when his uncle, Donald, mounted the throne. His party was greatly assisted by the universal dissatisfaction at the measures of the late reign, in introducing the English and other foreigners, and raising them to great posts and estates. I have already traced the reasons for this innovation (for it was no other) in the government, and shewn that they were partly political, and partly necessary. It would be perhaps no difficult matter to shew, that the glorious figure which Malcolm the third made in the time of the Conqueror and his son, was owing to Edgar's party in England; but Donald, upon his accession, expelled all foreigners out of Scotland, and obliged them to seek refuge in England, through the intercession of Edgar, who was then at that court.

Their removal gave a new, but a dismal, face to the affairs of Scotland. Malcolm's family had still a great interest in the kingdom; and Atheling found means to rescue his nephew Edgar, the eldest son of Malcolm, out of the hands of Donald, and to carry him to the court of Rufus, where he was in great reputation. He was then aged, infirm, and venerable for his sufferings, as well as for his being the true heir to the English throne; but Rufus thinking he had nothing to apprehend from him, treated him with a generous confidence. William himself was on bad terms with his brothers; and by the complexion of his history, it seems as if some of their partizans had spread a notion that he intended to adopt young Edgar for his heir, having no issue of his own. It was likewise more than insinuated, that Edgar Atheling had been the adviser of this measure; and an Englishman, whose name, according to Fordun, was Orgar, boldly accused Atheling of practices to advance his nephew to that succession, with a view of himself being regent during his minority. Rufus either believed, or seemed to believe the charge, but required regal proofs of Atheling's guilt. As those could not be produced, Orgar insisting upon, and Edgar denying, the charge, the bar.

barous laws of the times rendered a single combat unavoidable between the two parties. If we may believe Fordun, the whole weight of William's authority was on the side of Orgar, who was one of the strongest and most active men in the nation : and though Edgar's age allowed him to be defended by the arm of another, yet none was found bold or generous enough, through fear of the royal indignation, to become his champion, till one Godwin of Winchester, whose family had been under obligations to Edgar, or his ancestors, offered to be his substitute in the combat. The day accordingly was appointed ; the proper oaths were administered ; and, all the pompous parade of arms being finished, the combatants engaged. Fordun has given us a description of the combat so mintue and exact, that I am apt to think Turgot, or some author from whom he had it, has taken it from the life. It is sufficient here to say, that Godwin was victorious ; and Orgar, when dying, confessed his guilt. The conqueror, as customary, obtained all the lands of his adversary. The victory of Godwin was interpreted, by the king and all his court, as the visible manifestation of heaven in favour of Edgar ; and William and he, ever after, lived in the most intimate friendship.

This combat, immaterial as the success was for clearing Atheling, produced wonderful effects in favour of young Edgar, and his two brothers, who were likewise at the English-court. Their party began to revive in Scotland ; and Donald had recourse to an expedient which he seems to have planned before, that of calling in the Danes and Norwegians for the support of his government ; for which they were to be indemnified by his ceding to them the Orkney and Shetland islands, then subject to the kings of Scotland, and very possibly the appenage of Donald himself, before he usurped the throne. Magnus, who was king of Norway at this time, after actually taking possession of the islands, marched a body of troops to the assistance of Donald. Those barbarians, as usual, became so insolent, that in a short time they were more hated than the English had ever been by the Scots, who complained that



they saw their country in danger of becoming a province to Norway.

We know not what the real sentiments of Rufus were at this juncture ; but I am inclined to think he did not seriously intend that young Edgar should succeed to the crown. A natural son, named Duncan, of the late Malcolm, had been sent a hostage into England ; and having been made knight by Rufus, he was serving in his armies with great reputation, when William formed the design of placing him upon the throne of Scotland, as illegitimacy could be no obstacle in the eyes of a prince who was himself the son of a bastard. The Scotch historians generally suppose that Duncan applied for assistance to Rufus ; but this is immaterial, as the latter had many weighty reasons for declaring against Donald.

The Scots became now more than ever discontented with Donald's Norwegian auxiliaries ; but he found himself under a necessity of maintaining himself upon the throne by their means. This was an alarming circumstance to William ; and he readily put Duncan at the head of a body of troops, with whom he entered Scotland. If he met with resistance, it must have been from the Norwegians : for the Scots in general abandoned Donald, who was obliged again to retire to the Isles ; though there is some reason for believing, that it was only in order to receive fresh recruits from Norway. The Scots, upon the flight of Donald, imagined that Duncan was about to raise Edgar to the throne of his father ; but instead of that, he repaired to Scone, where he was solemnly crowned.

Nothing can be imagined more distressful than the situation of the Scots at this time. Two usurpers were contending about their crown, and each were supported by an army of foreigners. They, however, at last acted with a becoming spirit. Malpedir, the thane, or earl, of Mearns, a powerful nobleman, surprized (some say by Donald's advice) Duncan, and killed him, in the castle of Menteith ; which was the more easily effected, as the domestic troubles of England had, by this time, forced William to recal his troops out of Scot-

land. Upon the death of Duncan, Malpedir was so much of a patriot, that he replaced Donald upon the throne, rather than owe the restoration of Edgar to English troops: nor does it appear that the Norwegians assisted Donald in regaining his crown. A visit which the king of Norway, about this time, paid to his new acquisitions in the Western and Northern Isles, created fresh alarms at the court of England; and the Scots in general shewed manifest dispositions for calling in young Edgar. Donald, to prevent that, offered Edgar all that part of Scotland which lay south of the Forth: the terms, however, were not only rejected, but the messengers who brought them were punished as traitors; by which we may suppose Edgar was in the South of Scotland, or in that part of England which he looked upon to be his own dominions. His uncle Edgar Atheling was still alive; and Rufus, rather than see the Norwegians again obtain a footing in Scotland, gave Atheling the command of a body of troops to restore his nephew. Miracles, in those days, were of great service in warlike expeditions; and when Edgar came to Durham, the burying-place of Cuthbert, that saint appeared to him, and promised him success, provided he repaired next day to his church, and received his banner from the hands of the canons; which Edgar accordingly did. The truth is, the Scots would have effected the restoration of Edgar, had not the good saint interposed; for they abandoned Donald at the appearance of the English troops. They were beheaded by Robert, son of that Godwin who had so bravely defended Atheling; and, though only two thousand in number, after obtaining a bloodless victory, they forced the usurper to an inglorious flight. He was pursued so closely, that he was taken and brought before young Edgar, who ordered his eyes to be put out, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, in which he died.

EDGAR, having mounted the throne of his ancestors, proved a grateful votary to St. Cuthbert, by the vast presents he made to his church, as we shall see in the ecclesiastical part of this history. Upon the death of William Rufus, his brother

Henry the first, became king of England, though Robert duke of Normandy, who was elder brother to both, was still alive. Christina, sister to Edgar Atheling, had by this time professed herself a nun in the monastery of Wilton, into which she carried her niece, young Matilda, sister to Edgar, now king of Scotland. As it was highly improbable that Edgar Atheling could have any issue, and as his nephew never thought of putting in any claim to the English crown, as the male representative of the Anglo-Saxon royal blood, Henry thought that his marriage with young Matilda, a beautiful and an accomplished princess, would strengthen his title to the crown. Some devotees of the time opposed the marriage, under pretence of Matilda's having been a professed nun. Henry's situation with his clergy did not admit of his disobliging the haughty Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury; but as the princess herself was far from being averse to the match, she gave her royal lover all the information he could desire for removing the objection. She absolutely denied her ever having taken the veil; she said, that her aunt had obliged her sometimes to wear a piece of black cloth, to cover her face from the insolence of the Norman soldiers, but that as soon as her aunt was absent, she always threw it away; and that her father often declared he designed her to be a wife, and not a nun. Her information (for Christina seems by this time to have been dead) was laid before Anselm, who called a synod before he would give any decision; but the cause being fully heard, and the lady's cause being drawn up by the archdeacons of Canterbury and Salisbury, and confirmed by the nuns, sentence passed in favour of the marriage, which was celebrated with the greatest pomp and national satisfaction, in November 1100.

Such is the account which William of Malmesbury and other old English historians give of this famous marriage. Matthew Paris has not treated it in so favourable a light. He says that the princess herself was averse to it; but was afterwards prevailed on to consent by the importunities and flattery of her friends, who told her that the marriage was the only means



of saving the blood of both nations, and restoring them to lasting tranquillity. He adds, however, that she consented with so much reluctance, on account of having been professed a nun, that she devoted the fruit of her womb to the devil. This relation of Paris carries with it all the marks of an infernal, misguided zeal, and is expressly contradicted by the proceedings of the synod, and the archbishop.

The match strongly cemented the good understanding between the crowns of Scotland and England; and the English writers themselves acknowledge, that Edgar continued to the time of his death, a faithful ally to Henry. The intercourse between them has given rise to some monks, zealous for the superiority of the kingdom and church of England over those of Scotland, to forge certain writings, by which Edgar acknowledges, "that he held the kingdom of Scotland by gift of his lord William, king of England; and with consent of his said lord, he gives to God Almighty, and the church of Durham, and to the glorious bishop St. Cuthbert, and to bishop William, and to the monks of Durham, and their successors, and the mansions of Berwick and Coldingham, with several other lands possessed by his father Malcolm: and this charter is granted in the presence of bishop William, and Turgot, the prior; and confirmed by the crosses of Edgar his brother, and other noblemen." That this pretended charter is a forgery appears from the original not being producible, and from the copy of it printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the following manner: "In the days of William the first, king of England (*viz.* the conqueror) and of William bishop of Durham, Edgar, king of Scotland, made a grant to St. Cuthbert, and to the church of Durham, of Coldinghamshire, and of the tenure following." Now it is certain that William the Conqueror had been dead ten years before Edgar came to the throne of Scotland; and that William, bishop of Durham, was not alive at the time the charter is supposed to have been granted. Besides those two indisputable evidences of its forgery, many others might be produced; but they are unnecessary. The like intemperate zeal has prompted another

forgery of the same kind, under the seal of Edgar on horse-back, with a sword in his right hand, and a shield on his left arm, within a border of France. This last circumstance is a sufficient proof of its forgery, as in the same repository there are five undoubted genuine charters of the same Edgar, who, on his seal, is represented sitting on two swords planted across, with a scepter in one hand, a sword in the other, a royal diadem on his head, and an inscription round, *Scotorum Basileus*, which the best English antiquaries admit to have been a title denoting independency. I shall not mispend the reader's time in mentioning other forgeries of the same nature, which are acknowledged by the most judicious historians, and suspected by the most credulous.

Notwithstanding the great troubles raised both in France and England against Henry the first, Edgar never could be persuaded to take part against his brother-in-law; and what is still more extraordinary, he remained firm to his engagements even after Henry had been deserted by Atheling, to whom his nephew Edgar owed so much. Atheling, though now old and infirm, seems never to have been at rest; but we are in the dark as to many particulars of his fortune. It is certain, that before his death, he left the party of Henry the first; and joined that of duke Robert, who was entirely defeated at the battle of Tinchebary, in Normandy, and taken prisoner, together with Atheling. According to William of Malmesbury, the latter had paid a visit to the Holy Land, and refused many advantageous offers from several European powers, that he might end his days peaceably in England. It is well known with what severity Henry treated his elder brother Robert, during his captivity: but his affection for his queen, and his regard for Edgar, prevailed with him to suffer Atheling to enjoy his favourite wish; for he was set at liberty, and returning to England he there finished his life. It is uncertain, whether he survived his nephew Edgar, who, after a happy and peaceable reign of nine years and three months, died at Dundee, in 1107, and was buried at Dunfermline.

Edgar was succeeded by his brother ALEXANDER, surnamed,

from his impetuosity, the Fierce. It must be acknowledged, that the Scotch historians have been scandalously neglectful of this prince's history, and its chronology. It appears, that upon his accession to the throne, his subjects were so ignorant of his true character, on account of his piety and devotion, that the northern parts were soon filled with ravages and bloodshed, the inseparable concomitants of the feudal institutions. It happened fortunately for the royal authority, that those differences were so deeply rooted in the breasts of the parties, that they seldom or never could be persuaded to join in opposing the king's power; and this circumstance was, in fact, its chief support. Alexander instantly raised an army, marched into Murray and Ross-shire, attacked the insurgents separately; and having subdued them all, he ordered numbers of the most powerful among them to be executed. Upon his return from this expedition, in passing through the Merns, he met with a widow who complained that her husband and son had been put to death by the young earl their superior. Alexander immediately alighted from his horse, and swore he would not remount him till he had enquired into the justice of the complaint; and finding it to be true, the offender was hanged in his presence.

Though those seasonable examples prevented all attempts towards an open rebellion, yet they occasioned many private conspiracies among the more abandoned part of his subjects, who had been accustomed to live under a remiss government. We accordingly find that a fresh conspiracy broke out against Alexander, while he was engaged in building the castle of Baledgar, who had laid the foundation-stone. This castle lay in the carse of Gowry, which we are told, had formerly belonged to Donald Bane; but afterwards came to the crown, either by donation or forfeiture. The situation of this castle was particularly convenient for the suppression of the robberies which were frequent in the neighbourhood: but the conspirators bribed one of his bed-chamber men to introduce them at night into the king's bed-chamber. Alexander hearing a noise, drew his sword, dispatched six of them, and by the



help of Alexander Carron escaped the danger, by flying to Eife. According to Sir James Balfour's manuscript Annals, the conspirators chiefly resided in the Merns, to which Alexander once more marched with an army; but they retired across the Spey. Alexander pursued them to the banks of that river; and if the Scotch historians have not confounded this expedition with one of the same nature already related, he would have plunged into the river to pass it, had he not been restrained by Carron, who bravely attacked the rebels, defeated them, and brought all who fell into his hands to public justice. Carron, from his valour in this battle, was called Skringecour, or Skirmisher, or Fighter.

It was probably after he had reduced his kingdom to some order by those vigorous proceedings, that Alexander paid a visit to his brother-in-law, Henry the first of England, who had just married his daughter to the emperor of Germany. Henry was at that time planting a colony of Flemings upon the borders of Wales, in order to keep that turbulent people in awe, as well as to introduce into his kingdom the manufactures for which the Flemings were then famous. The Welch were impatient at this growing colony, and had broken out into some hostilities in 1113, while Alexander was in England. They had proved victorious over the earl of Chester and Gilbert Strongbow, the two most powerful of the English subjects; and Alexander, by virtue of the fealty he had sworn for his English possessions, readily agreed to lead an army into North-Wales, who disclaimed all subjection to, or alliance with, Henry; Meredith ap Blethyn, and Owen, ap Edwin. Henry, who was then on very doubtful terms with the crown of France and his Norman barons, depended solely on Alexander for the success of this expedition; but he took the field in person. Alexander, being joined by the earl of Chester, entered North Wales, and defeated Owen ap Edwin, whom he pursued as far as Penant-Bachwy; but though he reduced him to the greatest straits, Edwin escaped at Grifith, the prince of North-Wales, with whom he was closely allied. Henry, with the division which he commanded, was

not so successful as Alexander, whose troops were far better fitted, than his were, for such an expedition; for having advanced as far as Murcastle, he found he had lost two-thirds of his army, with almost his whole baggage, by fatigue, famine, or the attacks of the enemy. The politic Henry, upon this, raised a jealousy between the two Welch princes, that each was tampering either with himself or Alexander; and he employed the earl of Chester and Meredith, who had submitted to him, to promote the division. The event was, that Henry, was forced to restore Owen to all his lands, and to give Grif-fith a large sum of money. The Scotch historians are entirely silent with regard to this remarkable expedition; and, indeed, when we consider the manner in which it is related by the English, there is the strongest reason to believe, that the success or presence of Alexander were the chief inducements, not only for the Welch, but with Henry himself, to conclude the peace.

In the year 1118 died Matilda, queen of England, and daughter to Malcolm Canmore. Her virtues and moderation were conspicuous; but Malmfbury has charged her memory with being over-liberal to foreign musicians, which induced her sometimes to oppress her tenants; every queen of England, in those days, being possessed of a separate estate, even during her husband's life-time. Her marriage with Henry undoubtedly contributed greatly to the tranquillity of his government in England, and even to the keeping the crown upon his head. Upon her death, which happened on the 30th of April, the care of her funeral was committed to the sheriffs of London, who, by an original roll which still remains, charged the crown with fifteen shillings and two pence half penny for oil, expended in burning upon her tomb, and with three shillings for cloth to cover the same.

The rest of Alexander's reign was spent in civil and ecclesiastical duties. But I cannot here omit a very singular adventure which befel him about the year 1123. Being about to pass the frith of Forth, a violent tempest arose, which drove him upon the Isle of Oe-mona, (since called Inchcolm, which

I have already mentioned to have been the burying-place of the Danes) with his attendants. This island contained then no other inhabitants than a hermit, who lived in St. Columb's chapel, and subsisted on the milk of one cow, and a few shell-fish, which he gathered on the strand, or from the hollows of the rocks. The hospitable hermit shared his homely fare with the king for three days, the storm continuing so long, and cutting off all communication between the island and the main land. Alexander, during his distress, made a vow to build a religious house upon the place of his residence; and he accordingly afterwards erected and endowed an abbey there for canons regular. Many were his works of the same kind; for he finished the church of Dunfermline, and he gave the lands of Boarrinke, so called from a monstrous mischievous boar there slain, to the church of St. Andrew's. In short, Alexander equalled any of his predecessors in acts of munificence to the church, reigned seventeen years and twenty-one days, and, dying a bachelor, was buried at Dunfermline in 1124. Ælred, abbot of Riedual, who was cotemporary with Alexander, says, that he was affable and humble to the monks and clergy, but inexpressibly terrible to his other subjects; that his spirit in all undertakings was far above his strength; and that he was a learned prince. From this character we may safely conclude, that Alexander was eaten up with zeal for the clergy.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Of Scotland from the beginning of the reign of DAVID the first. to the death of ALEXANDER the third, in the year 1285.*

ALEXANDER the Fierce was succeeded by his younger brother, David, who, with his sister, queen Matilda, had his education in England. He married Maud, the daughter of Waltheof, by Judith, the niece of William the Conqueror; and David became afterwards possessed of the



great earldoms of Huntingdom and Northumberland ; so that he was, at the time of his accession to the crown of Scotland, the most powerful subject in England. He cultivated his family-friendship with Henry the first of England ; and having early foreseen the opposition which his niece, the empress Maud (who, by the death of her elder brother, was then heiress to the crown of England) would encounter, he took an oath to maintain her and her issue in that succession. This he did on a motive of principle ; for Stephen, who was her antagonist, was David's kinsman by his younger sister, Mary, wife to Eustace earl of Boulogne. Upon the death of Henry, Stephen seized the crown of England, together with the royal treasures ; and his progress was so rapid, that the party of the empress was quite overborne, and numbers of her friends took refuge in Scotland. David not only gave them a hospitable reception, but raised an army, with which he marched into England, seized upon Carlisle and Newcastle, and obliged the nobility in the north of England to give hostages for their fidelity to the empress of her young son, afterwards Henry the second. The truth is, that David was assisted in his progress during this irruption by the affection which the northern nobility bore to the cause of the empress ; but, in order to form a true idea of David's conduct, it is necessary to make a short review of the state of affairs in England at that time.

Stephen earl of Boulogne was third son to the earl of Blois and Boulogne, by William the Conqueror's daughter. The eldest brother was disabled by nature from the management of affairs ; the second brother was earl of Blois, and a competitor for the duchy of Normandy ; and Stephen having long resided in England, demanded that crown, while the empress and her son were set aside from the succession in a great council of the peers, without (so far as appears from history) a contradictory vote. The reasons pretended for this step were, her being married to a needy foreign prince, who, in her right, might lay claim to the government of England ; and her father Henry having, on his death-bed, repented his appointing her to the succession. The empress and her son were

at that time lying wind-bound in a French harbour, which prevented her party from openly declaring in her favour; but this had no influence upon David. He was preparing to march southward, when Stephen, hearing that he was master of Carlisle and Newcastle upon Tyne, but not of Bamborough, swore that he would recover by arms what David had seized by treachery, meaning, by his making use of Maud's name and authority. With incredible diligence he raised an army, just as David, having seized upon Alnwick and Norham, was preparing to besiege Durham, though the winter was then far advanced.

All this time, the empress and her party had not declared her title to the crown of England; and her natural brother, Robert earl of Gloucester, who, next to David, was thought to be the greatest support of her interest, had provisionally recognized Stephen's title. Those appearances, with the uninterrupted successes of Stephen, seem to have startled David, who, perhaps, thought he had gone too far. Stephen, on the other hand, having advanced as far as Durham, was certainly apprehensive of the fate of battle, which, if it went against him, must shake his throne, and sent to know the demands of David. These were, that he should receive the investiture of the earldom of Huntingdon; and that he should keep Carlisle and Doncaster; and that his son Henry, in right of his mother, should be put in possession of the earldom of Northumberland. Stephen agreed to all those demands except the last, which he referred to the decision of his great council, because of the opposition made to it by some of his subjects. The rest of the treaty was executed on both parts. A great difficulty, however still subsisted, how David should get over his oath in favour of Maud's succession; but this was removed, by his giving the investiture of all his English estates to his son Henry, who accordingly performed homage to Stephen. When the whole of this transaction is considered, the prudence of David is but barely reconcileable to his honour, if he gave Stephen reason to believe that he had entirely abandoned the interest of his niece the empress.

The prince of Scotland was then the representative of the old Anglo-Saxon kings, to whom the English had still a strong affection. Stephen therefore treated him with all the honours due to the first prince of the blood, and thought he gained a capital point, by prevailing with Henry to attend him to London, and appear at his court at Westminster. The difficulties which the profusion of Stephen, and the opposition he began now to meet with, threw him into, probably prevented his gratifying the prince of Scotland in his demands upon the earldom of Northumberland, which was become a capital object with the chief of the English nobility. The prior of Hexham, a cotemporary author, informs us, that at the festivity of Easter, Stephen placed prince Henry on his right hand; which occasioned the Archbishop of Canterbury, the earl of Chester, and other peers, to speak contumeliously of the young man, and to withdraw from court. Notwithstanding the profusion of honours heaped upon Henry, David saw through Stephen's motives, and that he kept his son about his person only to overawe the empress and her party. Henry applied with indefatigable assiduity to have his claim upon Northumberland discussed; but meeting with frivolous delays, David ordered him to leave the English court, which he did; and he accordingly returned to Scotland without the investiture.

Stephen's affairs having called him to Normandy, he was there alarmed with an account, sent him by his English regency, of a conspiracy formed by the English, to place David (but more probably prince Henry) upon his throne. This information received some countenance from the fresh preparations making in Scotland for invading England, on account of the non-performance of the treaty of Durham. I cannot, however, perceive, how that non-performance could be construed into a just motive for this second invasion; because the affair did not lie in the breast of Stephen, but in the peers of his court. Be this as it may, while David was busied in his preparations, and when more than half of England seemed disposed to join him and his son, they received a message from



Thurstan, the aged archbishop of York, begging that they would give him a meeting at Roxburgh, which lies near the border of the two kingdoms. The voice of piety and religion was always decisive with David; and the venerable character of Thurstan prevailed with him and his son to postpone their expedition till Stephen's arrival in England, which happened in December 1137. He had been so successful in Normandy, that he had nothing to fear from that quarter; and when David's deputies demanded the investiture of Northumberland for their prince, he absolutely refused their request in very high terms. By this time David had built the castle of Carlisle; and from the narratives of the English historians it appears, that a number of their greatest men considered David as their true king; and Milo de Beauchamp, governor of the castle of Bedford, actually declared himself in his favour. Whether David fell in with their sentiments is not certain; nor have we any foundation in history to support the affirmative, because he always professed a strong attachment to the empress. Stephen, however, seems to have thought that David had an eye upon his crown; for, though it was then in the midst of winter, he raised an army, and, without regard to the sanctity of the time, he took the castle of Bedford on Christmas-day.

If David had any views for himself upon the crown of England, Stephen's alacrity and expedition disconcerted them. The Scots had laid siege to Wark, and were commanded by William, grand nephew to David, who had been joined by many of the English barons. As Wark was at that time a place of importance, David pressed it furiously; but hearing of Stephen's success in the south, he raised the siege, and penetrated into Northumberland. Stephen marched northward to oppose him; and, upon David's retreating, he was so incautious as to expose his army to be either starved or cut in pieces; which had almost happened at Roxburgh, where David had taken up so strong a camp, that Stephen could not force it. On this occasion David displayed great abilities, because he gained time for his niece's party, who were in arms in the South; and Stephen was forced to make a precipitate retreat

southward, after losing half his army. The empress Maud, and her son prince Henry, had now claimed the crown of England; and the earl of Gloucester, having publicly renounced his allegiance to Stephen, declared himself of their party; but David had, difficulties to encounter he had not foreseen. Though he was at the head of thirty thousand men, and though he himself was a generous humane prince, yet they were commanded by other chiefs, whose hatred of the English led them into barbarities which David could not prevent; and thereby lost the hearts of the inhabitants. It must be acknowledged, that the Scotch historians are blameable, in not having properly availed themselves of the excellent lights communicated by the cotemporary authors of this time. From them it is plain, that the northern barons continued to be totally averse to David's receiving the investiture of Northumberland, for this plain reason, that their distance from the seat of government rendered them almost independent on the crown of England, and they dreaded the residence of a Scotch prince among them. Upon the retreat of Stephen southwards, he found the confederacy against him very strong, and that many of his greatest subjects had renounced their allegiance to him, on pretext of his having broken his coronation oath, by disseizing his English subjects of their franchises, and by the encouragement he gave to foreigners. Stephen, as an answer to their complaints, reduced the castles of Hereford, Dover, Shrewsbury, and others, which had declared against him. To counterbalance those advantages, David, after Easter, in 1138, again invaded the bishopric of Durham; but he was vigorously opposed by the Northumbrian nobility, not from any affection they bore to Stephen's person or title, but from the causes above specified. Among them we have the names of Robert de Bruce, and his brother, whose descendants make so illustrious a figure in the annals of Scotland. The earl of Albermarle, Walter de Gaunt, and Walter Espec, renowned for his military prowess, were in the number of David's enemies. The head of the Mowbray family (though but a boy) gave a sanction to the

cause; but old archbishop Thurstan was the soul and spirit of the whole. York was appointed to be the place of rendezvous, and their meeting was opened with an animated speech, made by that prelate.

There is no dissembling that the barbarities committed by David's troops gave but too just a handle to the hatred with which the archbishop inspired the northern barons against the Scots. David had lately reduced the town of Norham, which belonged to the bishop of Durham, to whom he offered to restore it, provided he would renounce his allegiance to Stephen. His offer was rejected, and he demolished the castle. In the mean time, the English army had advanced from York to Clithero, and David sent his grand-nephew, William, to command against them. William was so successful, that he cut to pieces the van-guard of their army, and destroyed their country with a barbarity that served only to exasperate the inhabitants the more. David again besieged Wark; but hearing of William's successful expedition, he left the siege to be carried on by some of his general officers; and calling in his troops under William, he marched to Yorkshire, with a resolution to fight a decisive battle, if the English should keep the field. Being joined by Eustace Fitz John, who delivered up to him the strong castle of Alnwick, he passed the Tine; but such was the consternation of the English barons, from their defeat at Clithero, that he found no enemy in the field. His army then consisted of twenty-six thousand men; and Robert de Bruce, with Bernard de Baliol, who held great possessions in Scotland, as well as in England, were sent by the northern barons to prevail with him to withdraw from the bishopric of Durham, where he then lay; in which case they promised to do their utmost in procuring him the investiture of Northumberland. A proposition so advantageous, and so honourable, must have prevailed with a prince of less rigid principles than David; and we are told he would have accepted of them, had they not been opposed by his general and grand-nephew, William, who reproached Bruce as a traitor, and confirmed David in his resolution to postpone all



other considerations to his engagements with his niece the empress. The negociation being thus at an end, the two deputies renounced their allegiance to David, which, in the language of those times, was called defying him.

Cotemporary historians insinuate the ravages of the Scots to have been so barbarous, that they united the English against them. The prince of Scotland, however, is described by them as a most amiable personage, brave, generous, and compassionate; distinguished for the beauty of his figure; affable, yet awful; and possessed of every virtue. Such is the character given of him by Ælred, abbot of Riedual, to whom he was personally known; and therefore we cannot well distrust his authority. All, therefore, we can say, in alleviation of the barbarities committed by the troops under his command, is, that he either could not prevent them, or that he had conceived so strong a hatred of the English, that he thought it not criminal to distress them. Upon the return of the English deputies to their army, they found it encamped at Thurstan-castle, and that it had received great reinforcements from the southern parts, particularly from Nottingham and Derbyshire. A new association was entered into against the Scots; and they advanced to Northallerton, where the famous standard was produced. Its body was a kind of box, which moved upon wheels, from whence the mast of a ship arose, surmounted by a silver cross, and round it were hung the banners of St. Peter, St. John de Beverly, and St. Wilfred. Those standards were then common on the continent of Europe, and were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions.

Thurstan continued to command the English army; but being worn out by age and infirmities, he resigned his command to Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys, who is, by Matthew Paris, and other English historians, called the bishop of Durham. The English in general had an incredible confidence in the fortune of their standard, and its supernatural efficacy; but the vast advantage they had over their enemies, in point of armour, gave them a more solid ground to hope for suc-

cess. Both armies met together on a plain called Cutton-Moor. The first line of the Scots, according to the prior of Hexham, was composed of Picts (for so he calls them) who inhabited Galloway, Carric, Kyle, Conningham, and Rensfrew. This abbot's testimony is an inrefragable evidence of what I have already asserted, that the race of the Picts still subsisted; and that though they had a prince of their own, he was feudatory to David. The second line or center of his army consisted of Lothian men, by which we are to understand his English as well as Scotch subjects south of the Forth, together with the English and Normans of Maud's party. The third line was formed of the clans under their different chieftains, but subject to regular command, and always impatient to return to their own country with their booty. The English army ranged themselves round their standard, and quitted their horses, not only to shew their resolution to die or conquer, but to avoid engaging at too great a disadvantage with the long lances of the Picts. The front line was intermixed with archers, and a body of cavalry, ready for pursuit, hovered at some distance. The Picts, besides their lances, made use of targets; but when the English closed with them, they were soon disordered, and driven back upon the center, where David commanded in person. Here his brave son made a gallant resistance; but the third line seems never to have fought. David seeing the day irretrievable, order some of his troops to save themselves, by throwing away their badges, and mingling with the English. From this particular we may conclude, that the Normans and English of Maud's party wore particular cognizances; but be that as it may, David made a most noble retreat to Carlisle.

When he arrived there, his son was missing, and he concluded he had been killed; but in a few days he arrived with part of the division that he headed. The Scotch and English historians have run into opposite extremes with regard to this battle. The former most unpardonably make no mention of it, though no fact in history is better attested; and the latter undoubtedly magnify the loss of the Scots, when they saw

it amounted to ten thousand men, and that the defeat was total. This was so far from being the case, that David was not pursued, and the victorious army was unable to keep the field; for we find that, soon after the battle, David took the strong castle of Wark, which had so long resisted his arms, and Stephen's party employed Albert, bishop of Ostia, the pope's legate, to negotiate a peace; but all that he could obtain, was a truce till the 11th of November.

In the beginning of the year 1139, we find David still at the head of his army, and Stephen marching to Scotland to fight him. In the intermediate time, during Stephen's absence in Normandy, his wife Matilda, one of the best women of that age, had laboured so incessantly with David for peace, that the terms were agreed on; and while Stephen was on his march, he received messengers from David with a copy of the preliminaries, which were ratified by Stephen, and a definitive treaty was concluded. By this treaty, Henry prince of Scotland was put in possession of Huntingdon and Northumberland, and took an oath of fealty to Stephen, whom he certainly attended to the siege of Ludlow; but whether as a hostage or a volunteer is somewhat doubtful. It must be confessed, that the relations even of the English historians, though living at that time, are obscure, especially as they have not related the precise terms of the treaty; and the events are far from agreeing with the superiority they ascribed to Stephen. I am inclined to think, that prince Henry of Scotland considered his own cause as different from that of the empress, or even of his own father; and that he attended Stephen to Ludlow-castle as one of his military tenants. The prince gained the affections of Stephen in a most distinguished manner; for when he was in danger of being hooked into the castle by of the besieged's grappling-irons, he was disengaged by Stephen in person. It does not enter within my present scheme to relate the various operations of the war in England, between the empress and Stephen, farther than as they regard the history of Scotland.

Stephen was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln, where



no mention is made of David ; so that the realm of Scotland probably continued in a state of tranquillity during the critical year 1141, when the affairs of Stephen were desperate. David was then in England, and continued still to be the main prop, as well as the wise counsellor, of his niece the empress ; but her haughtiness and perverseness broke through all his schemes. When she was on the point of being recognized by the Londoners, she madly refused to suffer them to be governed by the laws of king Edward. David and the earl of Gloucester remonstrated against her imprudence, which had almost cost her son the crown of England ; for the Londoners drove her from their city, and it was with difficulty that David carried her to Oxford, and from thence to Winchester. There, her ingratitude and passion exceeded all bounds. She upbraided David for controuling her will and put herself into the hands of Milo earl of Hereford. Even this affront did not shake the fidelity of David ; but while he remained with the empress at Winchester ; which was besieged by Stephen's generals, he seems to have divested himself of all command in the army, and to have served as a volunteer under the earl of Gloucester, in covering the famous retreat of the army from Winchester to Luggershal in Wiltshire. This retreat, which saved the person of the empress, was conducted with no more than two hundred men, and performed with most amazing courage and conduct, in sight of a victorious and superior army. It was, however, impracticable to keep them longer together ; and after the empress had reached Luggershal in safety, David and his friend, the earl of Gloucester, prepared to make their escape. The latter was taken prisoner ; but David marched northwards, by the fidelity of David Oliphant. He was now the chief object of Stephen's attention, who had been made a captive by the party of the empress, but was exchanged for the earl of Gloucester. I shall therefore confine my narratine to the illustrious part which the Scots acted in this important quarrel.

David's regard for the empress was far from rendering him unmindful of his own family-interest. Upon his return to the

North, he found it in a very flourishing condition; for his son was in possession of all Northumberland, the earldom of Huntingdon, and a large estate in the bishopric of Durham, which he received when he gave up the possession of that city. Stephen raised an army with great expedition, and ordered it to rendezvous at York, with an intention to invade David's dominions; but he found them so well provided for a defence, that he was forced to return to Northampton about Whitsuntide, in 1142, leaving the kingdom of Scotland in tranquillity. The war went on all this while with great fierceness in the southern parts of England, as well as in Normandy, while David was entirely employed in giving strength and stability to his kingdom; but by the unpardonable neglect of the Scotch historians, we know little of the particulars. The party of the empress, in the year 1146, received an irreparable blow by the death of the earls of Gloucester and Hereford; and her affairs were brought so low, partly by that, and partly by her own misconduct, that she was forced to return to Normandy in 1147. During her absence, Stephen appears to have granted to David the great earldom of Cambridge, as part of that of Huntingdon, which he had devolved upon him by his wife, the daughter of Waltheof, earl of Northumberland; and impartiality calls upon me to state the rise of those difficulties in as clear a manner as possible.

There can be no doubt that Henry the first gave to David some of his wife's father's estates, under certain restrictions; but this seems to have been a personal favour done to David, without restoring the blood of Waltheof; for his daughter, at the time of her marriage with David, had a son alive by a former husband, Simon de Senlys. The succession of the earldoms of Northumberland, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, came therefore to David by a quite different tenure from that to Cumberland and Westmoreland, the investiture of which was granted by the crown of England to the heirs apparent of Scotland; and, upon the whole, I am inclined to believe, that the grant was originally made to David. His possession of them, however, was (as we have already seen) far from

being undisturbed ; and proofs are to be found in the English records, that even his niece the empress thought him too powerful, either as a subject or a neighbour, notwithstanding the great obligations she lay under to his friendship. Almeric de Vere had become one of the greatest supports of the empress, and she promised to grant him the investiture of the earldom of Cambridge, with the third penny, as usual, of the rents of the county, provided she could prevail with David to exchange it for another. If she could not prevail, she was to give him his option of the counties of Oxford, Berks, Wilts, and Dorset. As de Vere was afterwards made earl of Oxfordshire, it is probable that the empress failed in her application. David was at this time, indeed, too powerful to be compelled to a compliance ; and was lying with an army at Carlisle, of which he still kept possession.

In 1149, young Henry of Anjou, though not fifteen years of age, prevailed with the empress his mother, and his father Geoffre Plantagenet, to send him over to England with a small body of troops, to make good his family claim to that crown. He landed with only a hundred and forty horse, and three thousand foot ; but his great dependence was on his grand-uncle, David, whom he joined at Carlisle. According to the custom of those times, he received the order of knighthood from the hands of David, assisted by the earl of Chester. The last mentioned nobleman, one of the most ambitious and faithless in England, had never lived on good terms with David, and at this time complained of his keeping possession of Carlisle, which he pretended belonged to the earls of Chester. This breach might have proved fatal to young Henry's cause, had it not been compromised by the intervention of friends ; and it was agreed that the earl should be put in possession of Lancaster, while David was to keep Carlisle ; and then in the mean time the former should raise his followers, in the South, and join David and his grand-nephew. The earl was insincere in this reconciliation ; for he no sooner left Carlisle, than he sought to make his terms with the opposite party. Stephen was then marching northwards, at



the head of a great army, intending to fight David and Henry; but though they had met with a severe disappointment from the earl of Chester, they took their measures so well, that the summer passed without any action.

Next year we find young Henry in Normandy, but David still remained at Carlisle. In 1152, he met with a severe loss in the death of his eldest son, prince Henry. The Scotch historians have, upon this occasion, put into David's mouth a most pious, edifying speech to his nobility, which I shall forbear to transcribe, because compositions of that kind are generally works of the author. Prince Henry left behind him three sons, Malcolm, William, and David; and three daughters, Adama, Margaret, and Maud. David ordered Malcolm to be immediately proclaimed prince of Scotland; and he is said to have given the earldom of Northumberland to William. We know of no concern which David took in the affairs of England, during the year 1153, when an agreement took place between king Stephen and prince Henry, by which the latter was to succeed the former in the throne of England upon his death.

David was now old, and worn out with fatigues. Finding his end approaching, he prepared to meet it with the most exemplary acts of devotion, and ordered himself to be carried to church, where he received the sacrament, refusing to suffer it to be brought to him. Upon his return he expired, with a wish, to enter the kingdom where all the inhabitants were kings. He died at Carlisle, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1153, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years, two months, and three days, and was buried at Dunfermline, with great pomp and splendor.

That David was an excellent warrior and an able politician, appears from every step of his long reign, as well as the power and splendor in which he left his dominions at his death. I have already mentioned his attachment to his niece the empress, and examined the principles on which he acted. He is, perhaps, less defensible in his unbounded liberality to the clergy, by his erecting four new bishoprics, nine capital abbeys,

four priories, and two nunneries. It is more to my purpose, here, to observe, that their annual revenues amounted to a hundred and forty thousand Franks; an immense sum for those days. On the other hand, we are to make an estimate of David from the poverty into which the crown of Scotland afterwards fell. His revenues were very little, if at all, short of those of England, and his troops were far more easily maintained; so his endowments were not extravagant, when we consider his income. But a stronger plea may be urged in favour of David's profusion to the church, when we reflect, that it was perhaps the only means he could employ for the civilization of his people; that ecclesiastics were then the vehicles of all instruction, governmental, religious, and moral; that though some were lazy, lewd, and ignorant, yet many of them were men of understanding and virtue; and that the crown afterwards received considerable support from those very endowments.

David is said to have given directions for compiling the *Regiam Majestatem*; but the English writers endeavour to prove, that it was copied from their judge Glanville. We shall have hereafter occasion to examine that point, on which specious arguments have been advanced by both parties. All I shall here observe is, that David was a prince very likely to have formed a code of this kind; and by his residence, connections, and concerns in England, he had all the opportunities he could have desired for information.

Malcolm the fourth, who, from his continence, obtained the surname of the Maiden, was no more than fifteen years of age when he succeeded his grand father. His subjects soon felt the difference between the two governments; for Malcolm, besides his youth, had a natural indolence of disposition, and gave too much way to the monkish education he had received. At the time of his accession, Scotland was desolated by a famine; and Semmerled, the ambitious thane of Argyle, preferred a claim to the crown itself, at the head of a considerable army, which daily increased by the resort of

all the needy and the profligate to his standard. Another chief-tain, who is called Donald, the son of Macbeth, took arms at the same time; but he was defeated, and shut up in the same prison with his father, though both of them were soon afterwards received into favour. Gilcrist earl of Angus, was then at the head of young Malcolm's troops, and having defeated Sommerled in three battles, he forced him to fly to Ireland. But Malcolm had now a far more powerful rival to encounter.

This was no more than Henry the second, who then sat on the throne of England, to which he had been raised principally by Malcolm's grandfather. Henry, by his marriage, was the most powerful prince in Europe, and at the same time the ablest and most ambitious. He secretly considered all the grants made by his mother, in prejudice of his crown, as proceeding from force, and therefore not binding. He thought, at the same time, that those made by Stephen were so many acts of usurpation, and he had formed a resolution to resume them all. He began by calling upon Malcolm for the restitution of Northumberland and Cumberland. His demand, as to the latter, was grossly unjust; but as to the former, he affirmed, that David was not in possession of Northumberland at the time of Henry the first's death, and that no concession made by Stephen was valid. As those grants, however, had been ratified by the empress, in whose right her son Henry inherited the English crown, the demand was arbitrary; and Malcolm was weak enough to grant him a meeting at Chester. Henry had by this time given sufficient intimations of his intention, by his depriving the bishop of Glasgow of his ecclesiastical functions at Carlisle, to which town he sent another bishop. Notwithstanding this, Malcolm, depending upon Henry's gratitude, repaired to the meeting. Buchanan and other Scotch historians say, that when Henry received the order of knighthood, he solemnly swore not to disturb David, or any of his posterity, in the possession of what they held in England. Fordun is of opinion, that Malcolm's counsellors were corrupted by those of Henry; and this seems to have



been the truth, because Malcolm was not then in possession of the estates which Henry demanded; for the late king David had not only given Northumberland to William, his second grandson, but had given the earldom of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland, to his third grandson, David. Probably Henry urged his power as lord paramount to reject David's investiture, which he had an undoubted right to do; and this seems to have determined Malcolm to resign his family claim upon the counties of Cumberland, and Northumberland, upon his being put in possession of the earldom of Huntingdon, and doing homage for it, in the same manner as his grandfather had done before to Henry the first. This he certainly performed, though no good authority says, that the homage was paid for all the kingdom of Scotland.

This transaction carries with it appearances of treachery on the part of the Scotch ministry. I am apt to think, that Malcolm's great tenants were well pleased to see the power of the crown weakened by their monarch's giving up Cumberland and Northumberland for the precarious revenues of Huntingdon, which lay at a great distance from his frontiers. Their suffering him to repair to Chester was likewise a capital error, as it might have been easily foreseen, that Henry would make his own terms, as soon as he had got Malcolm's person in his power. There is some reason for believing, that Malcolm became sensible, in a short time, of his mistake. Upon his return home, he found his subjects highly exasperated at the concessions he had made; and in the year 1159, Henry invited him to a new interview at Carlisle. Malcolm gave him the meeting, but Henry could not prevail upon him to agree to any of the terms he proposed. They therefore came to no conclusion; but it appears very plainly, that Malcolm, who was then but young, was either so much over-awed by Henry's arms, or so dazzled with the lustre of his court, that he attended him into England, greatly to the dissatisfaction of his principal subjects. Henry demanded his attendance upon him in an expedition he was meditating against Thoulouse,

which he claimed in right of his wife. It is uncertain, from historical authority, whether Malcolm, who was in his person very brave, and wanted to signalize himself, did not privately agree, that Henry should make this demand, to which he consented, on pretence (to save appearances with his subjects) that he had not attendants with him sufficient to dispute the will of his paramount. It is certain, that he accompanied Henry during the unfortunate campaign he made in Provence; that he behaved with the greatest valour at the siege of Thoulouse, which was relieved by the French king in person; and when Henry returned to Tours, he conferred the honour of knighthood upon Malcolm, which seems to have been the principal inducement for that prince's serving under the banners of England in a foreign country.

The Scots, at this time, entertained very high notions of their ancient leagues with France; and the southern parts of Scotland being peopled by the discontented English, who never could hope to obtain their pardon from the English government, no pains were spared to give the public of Scotland very unfavourable ideas of Malcolm, for serving under Henry against his ancient and natural ally the king of France. Fordun, whose testimony is of great weight, informs us, that Malcolm's campaign in the county of Thoulouse gave a general disgust to all his subjects; and they were so much scandalized at the familiarity between him and Henry, that they sent him a deputation on that head, and even began to say among themselves, "We will not have this man to reign over us." Malcolm continued with Henry, and landed with him at Southampton, from whence he returned to Scotland, where he found the spirit of disaffection very strong. On his arrival the nobles were in arms under Ferchard, earl of Strathern and five other earls, some influenced by public, and others by private, considerations. They besieged him in the town of Perth, to which he summoned a meeting of his states. This constitutional measure turned the hearts of his other subjects in his favour; and the attempts of the insurgents were for that time, baffled. By the intervention of the clear

a meeting of the states was held, where Malcolm pleaded, that all the concessions of territory he had made to Henry, had been extorted from him by force, and he had served him in his war with France against his inclination. His subjects accepted of the apology, and the rather, as the kingdom was then threatened with commotions in other quarters.

Æneas, or Angus (Fordun calls him Fergus) thane of Galloway †, was then in arms; and the differences between Malcolm and his subjects had even encouraged him to declare himself a candidate for the crown. Gilchrist, the king's general (according to Botce and Buchanan,) was sent against him; and Æneas being defeated, was shaved, and shut up a monk in the abbey of Holy-rood house, his life being spared at the intercession of his powerful friends. His estate, however, was confiscated, and he put his son Othred as a hostage into the king's hands. Fordun, who is more to be depended upon, tells us, that this rebellion was quelled by the king in person, without any loss on his part. This is the more probable, as the inhabitants of Murray were in arms about the same time; and rising under one Gildermine, filled all the neighbourhood with ravages. Gilchrist, who was sent against them, was totally defeated; which exasperated Malcolm so much, that (according to Fordun) he came to a resolution to exterminate the Moravians (for so the inhabitants of Murray are called) or transplant them into other provinces. He accordingly advanced against the rebels with a strong army; and coming up to them at the river Spey, he put them all, with their leader, to the sword, without giving quarter to any. A third insurrection about the same time broke out. Sommerled, who was (as we have seen) a competitor of the crown, and had been driven to Ireland by Gilchrist, in the beginning of this reign, once more landed in Scotland, with an intention, it is to be supposed, to revive his claim. He is by Fordun called the king of Argyle; but those who are acquainted with the

† Fordun calls him Regulus, which implies some degree of independency; though the princes of Galloway undoubtedly at this time paid fealty to the kings of Scotland.



English and northern histories know, that Sommerled is a denomination applied to all the northern nations, the Danes especially. This Sommerled seems to have been one of those roving Danish adventurers or pirates, who at that time infested the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, where possibly he might have made a temporary settlement, under the name of king. Be that as it may, he landed near Renfrew, from Ireland, with a considerable fleet and army, and began to plunder the country. His success, however, was so indifferent, that he was attacked and defeated, and (according to Fordun) slain, by a handful of the inhabitants; but, if we may credit latter writers, he was taken and carried alive to the king, by whose orders he was hanged.

Those vigorous exercises of government prove Malcolm, however deficient he might be in politics, to have been personally brave and active, though he was not above twenty-three years of age. In 1161, he called together the states of his kingdom, and they voted him a large subsidy for marrying his eldest sister, Margaret, to Conan, duke of Brittany, and his younger sister, Ada, to Florence, earl of Holland. From this and other circumstances we may venture to conclude, that Malcolm had now entirely regained the affections of his subjects, and that the remainder of his reign was spent in tranquillity. In the year 1163, we find him at the court of England, performing homage anew to Henry the second; but we know of no requisition he made to be reinstated in his English dominions. The Scotch historians have looked upon this acquiescence as a sign of pusillanimity; but I am inclined to think, that it manifested his wisdom, and, perhaps, his justice. The English would, as one man, have united against him, had he attempted to take Northumberland by arms. He had been lately an eye-witness to the great power of Henry; and it would have been worse than madness in him, to have drawn upon his country the weight of the English arms. Add to this, that Malcolm had regularly ceded the territory in question; and that (as I have already shewn) his father and grandfather's right of possessing it was, at best, question

able. The Scotch historians themselves very truly say, that Henry declared, he was resolved not to part with so considerable a portion of his regal dominions; which was saying, in fact, that he did not think any of his ancestors or predecessors could legally give them up. Impartiality has obliged me to say thus much in defence of Malcolm, whose conduct is justified by after events.

It seems to have been after Malcolm's last visit to the English court, that he held a meeting of his states at Scone. There, the bishop of St. Andrew's, taking the lead in the assembly, which was very numerous, solemnly put Malcolm in mind, that his leaving a lawful heir of his own body was a duty he owed to his country; and concluded, by requesting him, in the name of his subjects, to take a wife. Though the bishop enforced his request by very strong arguments, both moral and political, yet he was obliged to desist from his suit, by Malcolm's obstinacy not to enter into the state of marriage. No author has ventured to give any reason for this unaccountable behaviour of Malcolm, but that he pleaded a vow of celibacy he had made, and that his brother would sufficiently supply his place, in case of his death. It may, perhaps, be thought too bold for a modern historian to say, that Malcolm's obstinacy was owing to a secret compact between him and his brother, with whom (according to Fordun) he had great differences, on account of the alienation of Northumberland. The same old historian seems to admit, that Malcolm, towards the end of his reign, grew very unpopular, on account of his devoting himself entirely to religious affairs, which indeed was the capital failing of his family; though there is nothing we are more certain of, than that he was not an enthusiast for the pope's power. Fordun even says, that his brother William, because of his hatred to the English, was, without the king's consent, chosen regent or guardian of the kingdom. All historians agree that Malcolm, towards the end of his reign, applied himself to the founding and endowing religious houses; such as the abbey of St. Rule, in the city of St. Andrew's, and that of Coupar, in Angus. At last, Malcolm fell into fo

deep a depression of spirits, that it brought upon him a disease which put an end to his life, in the twelfth-year of his reign, and the twenty-fifth of his age, in the year 1165.

I have endeavoured to set this prince's character and actions in their true light, by the assistance of the English history, That of Scotland is very imperfect with regard to both : and, after all, I can scarcely fix a chronological period, but those of his accession, of his return from France in 1163, and that of his death ; nor can I perceive any grounds for supposing him to have any more interviews than those I have mentioned with the king of England. Malcolm was not the only king of Scotland, in whom religious delusion and enthusiasm destroyed the brightest parts, and enervated the most exalted courage.

Malcolm was succeeded by his brother William, whose situation at the time of his accession was very extraordinary ; and undoubtedly it gave him great reason to complain against Malcolm. The only heritage of his father had assigned him, consisting of those English estates which his elder brother had given up, while his younger brother, David, remained in peaceable possession of the great earldom of Huntingdon. This treatment exasperated him so highly, that he refused to enter into any public business till he had named ambassadors to demand from the king of England the restitution of Northumberland. He then issued orders for assembling his states at Scone, where he was solemnly crowned and recognized. When his ambassadors made their requisition of Northumberland, Henry, whose affairs were then much embarrassed, gave him a soothing answer, but pretended that William ought, previous to any such requisition, to appear at his court, and pay his homage in person. The states of Scotland were assembled, and Henry's answer was laid before them. Their opinion was, that in order to put an end to the miseries of war, which were then raging between the two kingdoms, on account of Northumberland, William should go to the English court, and, after paying his homage, conclude a final agreement concerning Northumberland, that peace might be restor-



ed to both kingdoms. William accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1166, went to Windsor, where Henry waited for him, and was received with great pomp. Having performed his homage for Cumberland and Huntingdon, which he held in capite of the English crown (though his brother David had the emoluments of the latter) he required to be put in possession of Northumberland likewise. Henry would have willingly evaded this demand, because William's friendship was then of great consequence to his affairs; but at last he was forced to acquaint William, that it was not in his power to dismember Northumberland from his crown, without the consent of his peers in parliament.

Henry was then preparing to pass over to France, under pretence of making a crusade to the Holy Land (the most plausible expedition of those times;) and no doubt he omitted no argument to prevail with the king of Scotland, to attend him. William, flattered with the glory of the enterprize, and, perhaps, expecting to form a party among the English nobility, which might bring his claim upon Northumberland to a favourable decision, promised to comply with Henry's desire. It was in vain for the few noblemen about his person to remonstrate against this step, and to urge the example of his brother to dissuade him; for he immediately went over to Normandy with Henry, who thereby thought that he had in his hands a pledge for the tranquillity of his northern dominions. We have no particular account of William's behaviour in France; but it is probable that, finding Henry's pretence for an expedition to the Holy Land, no more than an expedient to draw the pope to his side, in his dispute with the famous Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, William returned to his own dominions. Fordun tells us, that before he left France he concluded a truce with Henry, and that it was agreed a definitive treaty should be concluded with the first opportunity. During the short stay that William made in Scotland, he was employed in giving orders for strengthening his frontiers towards England, as foreseeing what afterwards happened. He likewise brought to justice a number of robbers, who then in-

fested his kingdom; and next year we find him once more at the English court at Windsor. Boece and Buchanan inform us, that Henry had by this time agreed William should possess that part of Northumberland which his great grandfather held (meaning, I suppose, Malcolm Canmore); and that William declaring he would be satisfied with nothing less than the whole, Henry repented himself of his grant. Though I meet with no authority for this fact in the English records, yet, from what has fallen from Fordun, Henry seems to have made some very favourable concessions to William, which he afterwards retracted. This brought on a renewal of hostilities between the two kingdoms; but in the year 1170, matters were so well compromised between the two kings, that Henry knighted David earl of Huntingdon, at Windsor, in presence of his brother, the king of Scotland; but this calm was not of long duration, being the effect of only one year's truce.

The greatness and power of Henry the second was now formidable to all the princes of Europe, but especially to the kings of Scotland and France. Happily for them, Henry's queen, the restless and implacable Eleanor, had excited her sons to an unnatural war against their father; and William resolved not to lose so fair an opportunity of obliging Henry to do him justice. According to the French historians (for the Scotch are silent on the subject,) William, under pretence of renewing the league between the two nations, went over to France, where a general confederacy had been formed against Henry. It consisted of Henry's three sons, the Norman noblemen, with the earls of Flanders and Boulogne, Blois, Troyes, Chester, Beaumont, and Leicester, besides the kings of Scotland and France. The latter, because he was lord paramount of Normandy and Henry's French dominions, took the lead; and a grand council was summoned, in which the several claimants made their demands. Those of William were to be put in full possession of all Northumberland, which he was to hold as a fief from the crown of England, and that his brother David, in like manner, should hold the earldom of

Huntingdon. His claims were allowed, and (if we are to credit the French writers) William performed homage to young Henry, whom his father had already invested with the name, but not the power, of king of England. If William, as we have reason to believe, was present at this assembly, there can be little doubt of his having performed the homage to young Henry; because the declared intention of the king of France, and other confederates, was to place him upon the throne of England. Their plan of operations was next formed, and it was agreed that William should invade Northumberland.

No prince of that age had so good intelligence as Henry; and it was seconded by a suitable activity, which disconcerted all the schemes of the confederates in France and Normandy, where he acted in person. As to Northumberland, he left it to be defended by Richard de Lucy, who was his lieutenant over all England, and other noblemen. His success in France had disabled the confederates from fulfilling their engagements with William; so that the latter could not take the field so early as he intended. The king of France depended on William's efforts so much, that, though he could ill spare troops for a diversion, he sent over the earl of Leicester into England, with a considerable body of Normans and Flemings. William upon this took the field, with an army of Scots and Gallovidians (for the inhabitants of Galloway were still distinguished by that appellation) and finding no force in the field to oppose him, he ravaged the country to the banks of the Humber; and, after putting to the sword many of the inhabitants of Galloway were still distinguished by that appellation) and finding no force in the field to oppose him, he ravaged the country to the banks of the Humber; and, after putting to the sword many of the inhabitants, he returned by the way of Carlisle, which he besieged. Though Richard de Lucy, and Humphrey de Bohun, and other great English noblemen, thought themselves too weak to fight William, yet they made a powerful diversion to his arms; for they invaded Scotland by the way of Berwick, which they burnt to the ground. They were preparing to have proceeded northwards,



when they received intelligence, that the earl of Leicester having landed in Suffolk, and being joined by Hugh Bigod, was advancing against the town of Leicester; and this determined Lucy and de Bohun to suspend their northern expedition, that they might oppose Leicester. It is alledged by the English historians, against the truth of history, that William on this occasion agreed to a truce with the two English generals; but it is certain that that truce did not take place till some time after. He was still lying before Carlisle, and was preparing to march southward to join Leicester, when he found himself opposed by an English army, under Richard de Lucy, whilst Bohun marched forward, and totally defeated the earl of Leicester, near St. Edmund's-bury. The news of this soon reached William, who now listened to a proposal of a truce, which was made by Hugh bishop of Durham. It was then the month of December, and it was agreed that all hostilities should cease between the two nations till eight days after the ensuing Easter, but that William, in the mean time, should receive three hundred marks in silver; upon which he returned to Scotland.

This short cessation of hostilities was employed by William in vigorous preparations for war; and it was agreed between him and the earl of Flanders, (who resented the slaughter of his subjects, they having received no quarter at the battle of St. Edmund's-bury) that they would invade England in different quarters, upon the expiration of the truce. In the mean time, I perceive that Simon de St. Lys, who was, by the first marriage, either the son or grandson of Waltheof's daughter, wife to David, the late king of Scotland, claimed, in her right, the earldom of Huntingdon, to the prejudice of Malcolm's brother, who held it. This claim was probably encouraged by Henry, and we find St. Lys at this time blocking up Huntingdon-castle.

William, in consequence of his engagements, had now taken the field, and had levied upon the inhabitants of Northumberland the three hundred marks which had been agreed to be paid him during the late truce. He divided his army into

three columns; the first, commanded by one of his generals, laid siege to Carlisle; he led the second himself into the heart of Northumberland; and his brother David advanced with the third division into Leicestershire, to make head against Simon de St. Lys. William reduced the castles of Burh, Appleby, Warkworth, and Garby; and then joined that division of his army which was besieging Carlisle. The place was defended by Robert de Vaux, who agreed to give it up to William, if it was not relieved before the end of September; upon which William besieged Prudhou-castle, belonging to the Umfrevilles.

It soon appeared, that William's security had led him into a capital error, by inducing him to divide his forces. He had left some troops to continue the siege, or rather the blockade, of Carlisle. He had sent a reinforcement to his brother David; and he had dispatched two of his generals, called earl Duncan and earl Angus in the English histories, to levy contributions on the neighbouring country. He thus retained about his own person only a handful, with which he was carrying on the siege of Prudhou, when he heard that the Yorkshire men, under Robert de Stuterville and his son, were advancing to surprize him. There is reason to believe that the Stutervilles had, before this, defeated some of the divisions of the Scotch army; either that under the two earls, or that which was marching towards Leicester; for William no sooner heard of the approach of the Yorkshire men, than he retired to Alnwick, which he besieged. Stuterville and Ralph de Glanville, another English nobleman of the elder Henry's party, had so good intelligence of William's motions, and the careless, dissipated manner in which he acted, that they formed a scheme to surprize him. They dressed a party of their light horse in Scotch habits (those properly of the Scots whom they had lately defeated) and pushing on with forced marches, they came in sight of William's camp before Alnwick; who, supposing them to be a party of his own men, suffered them to approach so near, that he was taken prisoner, while he was reconnoitring some ground about the castle, with no

more than sixty attendants in his train. His horse was killed in the attempt he made to disengage himself; and we are told, that his retinue was composed entirely of English and Normans, in the party of the younger Henry. Such is the true manner in which this king was made a captive; nor does it appear from Fordun, or any good authority, that a truce (as late Scotch historians alledge) was then subsisting between William and the English. Matthew Paris says, that a great slaughter of the Scots ensued upon William's captivity; but he is weak enough to pretend, that this success to the English arms was owing to the elder Henry having, some time before, submitted his bare back to be scourged with rods by monks, for the murder of the archbishop of Canterbury.

The barbarity of the English to their royal captive is almost incredible; for he was carried prisoner, with his feet tied under a horse's belly, to Richmond-castle; a situation, which, however disgraceful, was more glorious than that of the mighty Henry, when under the discipline of the Monks.

David, earl of Huntingdon, who was then in Leicestershire, when he heard of his brother's captivity, instantly left England, and returned to Scotland, where he found many scenes of blood and confusion, on account of the king's imprisonment. According to Fordun, the Scots and Gallovidians revenged themselves severely, by repeated and bloody inroads upon the English; while the latter broke into Scotland and Galloway, where they gave no quarter to age or sex. Those mutual barbarities were no doubt encouraged by the ignominious manner in which Henry treated William, who was carried before him in chains at Northampton, and ordered to be transported to the castle of Falaise in Normandy, where he was shut up with other state-prisoners. Soon after this, an accommodation took place between Henry and his sons; and all the prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, except William, who bore his confinement with great impatience. It was natural for Henry to avail himself of this, by pressing him to agree to that point which had been so long in debate between the two nations; I mean, his performing homage to



the king of England, for the crown of Scotland, as well as for the lands he held of Henry. There is no denying that William was mean enough to accept of the proposed condition; and that he agreed to a treaty, by which all dubiety concerning the kingdom of Scotland being a fief of the crown of England was removed. But those concessions were only upon paper, and might be retracted as soon as William was at liberty, on pretence that they had been extorted by force; an excuse which has ever been allowed to be valid among all nation. The elder Henry was too consummate a politician not to foresee this; and he obliged William to agree to deliver up, as deposits, into his hands, the principal forts of his kingdom; which were, the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh (which in record is called the Maiden-castle) and Stirling. David earl of Huntingdon, with twenty of the barons of Scotland, who were present at the signing of this convention, promised to perform homage to Henry for the future, if required, and were delivered into his hands as hostages for William's good faith; engaging, at the same time, to procure the assent of all their absent nobility to the agreement. One farther circumstance is remarkable, and serves to prove how unconscionable the demands of Henry were; for William was obliged to agree to pay out of his own pocket the garrisons of the castles which he had thus so shamefully ceded.

Few historians afford an instance of such a people as the Scots tamely submitting to so infamous a convention as this was; nor indeed can we fairly attribute it to any other cause, than the affection they bore to their king. The treaty was not only concluded, but ratified and executed; and Henry thereby held Scotland in chains. All this precaution, however, could not give a validity to the convention, which was void by the king in durance when it was made.

William being restored to his liberty, returned to Scotland, which he found in great confusion. During his captivity, the people of Galloway, at the head of whom were two noblemen or princes, called Othred and Gilbert, took that opportunity of reviving their claim to an independency upon the Scotch

crown. They were the sons of Fergus, the late prince of Galloway, whom I have already mentioned; and, having expelled all the Scotch officers out of their country, they demolished the forts that had been erected there by William and his predecessors, and put to death all foreigners. The two brothers quarrelling, upon their success, Othred was murdered by Gilbert or his order; and Gilbert applied to Henry for protection.

By this time Henry had returned to England; and, to give all the validity that his late convention with William could admit of, he summoned him to meet him and his son, to whom he was now reconciled, at York, in 1175. William obeyed the summons, which appears to have been of a very extensive nature; for all the great nobility and land-holders in Scotland appeared at the same time, confirmed the convention of Falaise, swore fealty to Henry, and put themselves and their country under his protection. All that can be said in extenuation of this infamous transaction (for it cannot be denied) is, that the nation was then as much in Henry's power as William had been when he concluded the convention of Falaise. Henry having gained this great point, ordered Hoveden, the historian, and Robert de Vaux, the governor of Carlisle, to retreat with Gilbert of Galloway. The latter had offered to put himself and his people under the protection of England, and to pay to Henry two thousand marks of silver yearly, with five hundred cows, and as many hogs, by way of tribute. This immense subsidy (for so it was at that time) leaves no room to doubt, that Galloway was then of a much greater extent than the present county of that name; and that it had then resources in commerce which are now lost. Henry's two commissaries, struck with horror of Othred's murder, refused to make any final agreement with Gilbert. The negotiation was transferred to Henry in person; and he, to please his new feudatory, William, declined intermeddling in the affair. Upon this, William ordered his general, Gilchrist, to march with an army against the Gallovidians, which he did with so much success, that he defeated them. Before I leave

this part of history, I am to observe, that William did nothing against the Gallovidians but by the permission of Henry, who now considered himself as the lord paramount of Scotland. Gilbert, who had actually assumed the title of king, pretended that his allegiance was due to Henry, not as a Scotch nobleman, but as a feudatory prince. He therefore did not appear at York with the other Scotch land-holders; but he afterwards repaired to England, under a safe-conduct from William, and there performed his homage to Henry, paying him at the same time a thousand marks of silver, to atone for his brother's murder, and leaving him his son as a hostage for his fidelity. Upon the whole, the complexion of the history of Galloway, as it is delivered casually by a Scotch and English authors, leaves no room to doubt that it was inhabited by a race of men, who were not either of Scotch or English original, and became a dependent people only by compulsion.

The reader is to observe, that the forts in Scotland delivered up to Henry, were to be restored as soon as the terms of the Falaise convention were fulfilled. Buchanan is of opinion, (but he is justified by none of the records or the old historians,) that they were in the nature of a mortgage for the payment of certain sums of money by William. However this may be, the cession was temporary and conditional. One of those conditions, however, remained still to be performed; which was, "That the church of Scotland shall hereafter make such submission to the church of England as she ought to make to her, and as she was wont to do in the time of the kings of England, his predecessors." Henry, who knew the importance of this stipulation, ordered an ecclesiastical synod to be held at Northampton, in 1176; and there, William appeared at the head of his clergy, according to Henry's summons. The church of Scotland, to her honour, was not so pliable as her king and laity, had been, to a foreign jurisdiction. The clergy took advantage of the ambiguity of the expression, "as she wont to do," to dispute the bishop of York's claim; and, happily for them, the Archbishop of Can-



terbury insisted upon their submitting to him as primate. This producing a contest between the two metropolitans, the Scotch clergy retired without submitting themselves to either. William, to soften this disappointment (for such it was to Henry) referred the matter to the pope, and sent ambassadors to Rome for that purpose. His holiness, always glad of an occasion to dictate to princes, appointed a cardinal, one Vivian, to repair to Scotland, and to take cognizance of the affair; but he had instructions, at the same time, to raise as much money in Scotland as he could. William was not ignorant of his commission, and sent him notice, that he could not answer for his safety, if he intended aught in prejudice of his crown and kingdom; and he even obliged him to take an oath, that he would attempt nothing of that kind. Upon the legate's compliance with those demands, he was admitted into Scotland; and the national council being held in 1177, at the abbey of Holy-rood house, many antient canons were renewed, and new ones enacted. Soon after this, William had a difference with the bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen, which Henry and the pope endeavoured to compromise, but in vain. This produced an excommunication against William, and an interdiction of his kingdom, but, so far as we know, without any bad consequence to either; which is an additional proof how little the church of Scotland was then under papal influence.

The kingdom of Scotland being now freed from all apprehensions on the side of England, by Henry's obtaining peaceable possession of the cautionary fortresses, William seems to have lived, for some years, in uninterrupted but inglorious tranquillity. It was disturbed by one Donald Bane, so called from his ancestors, who were of the blood-royal of Scotland; and it is extremely probable, that William's shameful submission to Henry encouraged him to take the title of king, which he undoubtedly did. Having assembled a body of men in the Ebudae and the neighbouring islands, he landed in Ross shire, where he ravaged the country. Sir James Balfour, in his Manuscript Annals, says, that this Donald Bane, who was otherwise called Mac William, pretended to be the grandson of Dun-

ean, bastard of Malcolm Canmore, and whom we have already mentioned to have worn the crown of Scotland. It is not surprizing that, under such pretexes, numbers repaired to his standard, and that he advanced as far as Murray. There he was encountered by William in person, and, being totally defeated, his head was cut off, and carried ignominiously about upon a pole.

About this time, the famous Gilchrist, whom we may call the crown-general of Scotland, fell under the king's displeasure, on the following occasion. He had married Matilda, sister to William, and the youngest daughter of his father, prince Henry; but Gilchrist, either upon suspicion or proof of her incontinence, had put her to death, at a village called Maynes, near Dundee. William (who perhaps was not satisfied with the evidence brought against his sister) summoned Gilchrist to take his trial for the murder; and, upon his not appearing, his estates were forfeited, his castles demolished, and himself banished. He took refuge in England; but the conventions between William and Henry, importing, that one should not harbour the traitorous subjects of the other, forced Gilchrist to return to Scotland with his two sons. There they were exposed to all the miseries of indigence, and fear of discovery; and obliged to skulk from place to place. Upon William's return from his northern expedition against MacWilliam, happening to pass by Perth, he observed the three strangers, who, though disguised like rustics, appeared, by their noble mien, to be above the vulgar. William, who first discovered them, was confirmed in this apprehension, by seeing them strike out of the high road, and endeavouring to avoid notice. He ordered them to be seized; and when brought before him, the eldest, who was Gilchrist himself, fell upon his knees before him, and gave such a detail of his misfortunes, and their causes, as drew tears into the eyes of all who were present; and Gilchrist was restored to his honours and estates. From the family of this Gilchrist that of the Ogilvies is said to be descended.

In the year 1186, Henry the second looked upon the

county of Galloway as being legally annexed to his crown, by the late submissions of its princes; and leaving France, on pretence of quelling some commotions there, he raised an army, with which he marched into Scotland. Being advanced as far as Carlisle; Roland, then prince of Galloway, and son to Othred, threw himself at Henry's feet. This Roland, notwithstanding his defection from his allegiance to the crown of Scotland, had been assisted by William to subdue Gospatrick, Henry, and Samuel Kennedy, who had been the instruments of the late Gilbert's tyranny. He had likewise subdued and killed a famous robber, whom Fordun calls Gillicolin, and who, it seems, was a friend and partizan of Henry. The history of Galloway is the most intricate of any portion of the Scotch annals. It is difficult to determine to whom this Roland owed his allegiance. It appears, that he thought it due to William, but that he paid it to Henry, even by William's orders. Roland's submission softened Henry, and he laid aside his expedition against Galloway.

There is some reason to believe, that great part of William's time was spent at the English court; for we find him, in the year I now treat of, marrying at Woodstock Ermengarda, daughter to the earl of Beaumont, a near relation of Henry; who, among other restitutions to the crown of Scotland, gave up the castle of Edingburgh (which he appears to have unjustly detained) to William, as part of his wife's fortune. The English records intimate, that Simon de St. Lys, ever since the prosperous turn of Henry's affairs, had been in possession of the earldom of Huntingdon; and that upon his death Henry gave it to William. Some of the Scots historians say, that he bestowed upon him, at the same time, Westmoreland and Cumberland; but they seem, in this respect, to be too liberal.

The accession of Richard the first to the crown of England was a joyful aera to the Scots. Richard, when he mounted the throne, was engaged in the crusade; and the lenity with which his father had of late treated William, sufficiently indicated, that his newly acquired superiority over Scotland was



but very precarious. He therefore formed a plan for ensuring the quiet of his Kingdom, while he was absent in the crusade, by making William his friend. William's brother David, had assisted at Richard's coronation, as earl of Huntingdon; and one of the first measures of Richard's government, was his inviting William to give him a meeting at Canterbury; for which purpose he ordered his brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York elect, and all the northern barons, to receive William upon the borders. So illustrious a deputation, in a country where William had lately seen himself a shackled captive, could not but please him; and he arrived at Canterbury about the middle of December, 1189. According to the English records, Richard then held, of all the cautionary forts, only those of Roxburgh and Berwick; and, from the words of the original proceedings, there is the strongest proof, that William's acts of fealty for the crown of Scotland had been always considered, even in England, as being extorted from him by an unjust force. He agreed to pay Richard ten thousand marks of silver, and to renew his homage for all his English possessions, provided Richard released him from the unjust homage which he had been forced to pay for his crown of Scotland. The convention entered into is still extant in the English historian Hoveden, and carries on its face the strongest evidence of the independency of the Scotch crown; because Richard there positively acknowledges, "that all the conventions and pactions of submission from William to the crown of England, had been extorted from him by unprecedented writings and duress." This generosity of Richard met with a noble return from William; for when Richard was lying prisoner in an Austrian dungeon, the king of Scotland sent an army to assist his regency against his tyrannical brother, John, who wanted to usurp his throne.

Upon the return of Richard to his dominions in 1194, he overflowed with gratitude for William's generous friendship; and acknowledged it was owing to him that the schemes of John had been baffled, and that even the king of France had not been able to shake his friendship to the crown of England.

William was sufficiently sensible of his own importance, to which his demands were adequate. They amounted to his being put in possession of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster, with a confirmation of the rank and all privileges which had been formerly due or granted to any of his predecessors as kings of Scotland. Richard's circumstances at this time were such, that he could not immediately agree to transfer to William a property which in fact made him more powerful than himself but he appointed a meeting at Chepstow, in order to adjust all matters of difference between them. At this meeting, Richard again expressed the most lively sentiments of gratitude to William, and the latter laid before him his late charter, which imported, "That all claims of the kings of Scotland concerning their journies to or from the English court, when summoned, and their abode therein, together with all disputes about their liberties, dignities, and honours, should be referred to the arbitration of eight noblemen, of which, four were to be chosen by Richard, from among the Scots, and four by William, from among the English." By another article of the same charter it is provided, "That the king of Scotland, and his heirs for ever, should possess all his lands, whether demesnes or feudal, in England; that is to say, in the earldom of Huntingdon, and elsewhere, with the same immunities and privileges as his brother King Malcolm had enjoyed the same; excepting those estates which, by either of them, had been given off in fee, the services still to be reserved to the crown of Scotland."

That William was at this time a very powerful prince may be fairly concluded from the tenderness and decency with which Richard, haughty and over-bearing as he was, treated his demands. These were no less than his being put in possession of all the northern counties, as I have already observed, without any regard to the acts which had been performed by himself or his predecessors in prejudice of his sovereignty; and likewise that the terms and manner of his entertainment when he entered England should be settled. The latter was a matter of high importance, and seems to have

been dictated by the great landholders of Scotland to their king, which requires that I should lay the case fully open.

The feudal law had left it doubtful, whether a vassal to a lord paramount was obliged to appear at the lord's court, if it was held without the bounds of his fee. The kings of Scotland had often attended the English courts, when held in the southern parts of the island; but they had always complained of such attendance as an unjust oppression, because the maintenance of royal dignity cost the subjects of Scotland vast sums, by which they were not profited. Richard was resolved to gratify William in all demands he possibly could comply with. He waved his privilege of obliging the king of Scotland, as his vassal, to appear wherever the superior held his court; and he passed a charter, importing, "That when the king of Scotland should, in order to meet with the king of England, enter the limits of this last kingdom, the bishop of Durham, and the sheriff of Northumberland, should receive him at the river Tweed, and wait on him to the Teise; and there the archbishop of York, and sheriff of Yorkshire, should receive and conduct him to the borders of that county; and so the bishops of each diocese, with the sheriffs, should attend him from county to county, till he came to the English court. That, from the time he entered England, he should receive every day, of allowance from the king of England, one hundred shillings (in those days no small sum;) and, when at court, thirty shilling's; twelve of the king's fine cakes; twelve of his biskets, or simnal loaves, of fine wheat, twice baked; four gallons of his wine, and eight ordinary wine; two pounds of pepper, as much of cinnamon; two cakes of wax, weighing each eight or twelve pounds; four wax-candles; and forty great long candles, of the king's candles; and eighty ordinary candles; and that, when he returned into his own country, he should be conducted back again by the bishops and sheriffs as before, and have the same allowance in money, of one hundred shillings a day."

This charter bears date at Northampton, on Easter-Tuesday, being the twelfth of April, 1194, and is a glorious



testimony of the spirit of independency which then actuated the king and the people of Scotland. It freed them from an immense expence. The injustice of the claims set on foot by Henry the second had been fully acknowledged, and formally cancelled, and the most disgraceful part of feudal submission was by this charter revoked ; because the king of England, in fact, gave up his power of arbitrarily and wantonly summoning the king of Scotland, to attend him where he pleased. William was fully sensible of the pre-eminence which he gave him over the subjects of England ; for when he came to Brackley, on his journey to Winchester, he commanded the bishop of Durham, who attended him, to yield him up his lodging. The haughty prelate refused to comply, and a skirmish ensued, in which some blood was shed ; but, upon William's complaint, the bishop received next day a severe reprimand from Richard. On the seventeenth of April, five days after the grant of the above charter, Richard held a parliament at Winchester, where he was solemnly crowned a second time ; and we find William, on this occasion, officiating as the first subject of England ; for he carried one of the swords of state, as earl of Huntingdon, between the earls of Warren and Chester.

All this time, the great claim of Northumberland, urged by William, lay undecided, because Richard pretended that it must be referred to his court of peers. His necessities, however, at last, obliged him to make a general resumption of all the lands that had been alienated from the crown, and, among others, of Northumberland, which was then possessed by the Bishop of Durham. That prelate knew Richard's impetuous temper too well to dispute his pleasure ; and resigned the county into the hands of Hugh Bardolf, one of Richard's favourites. William took this amiss ; and being sensible how much Richard wanted money, he offered to pay him down fifteen thousand marks for Northumberland. Richard would gladly have accepted the money, and, at the same time, have given up the revenues ; but he refused to part with the castles, because the prerogative of the king of England suffered no

fortified place to remain in the hands of a subject; upon which William very wisely broke off the bargain, which must have terminated in a precarious possession of the county, to which he otherwise pleaded a right. Bardolf, therefore, kept possession of the county of Northumberland, and forced the bishop of Durham to resign into his hands the castle of Bamborough, and the town of Newcastle upon Tyne, together with some lands that had even been annexed to the bishopric.

Upon the accession of John to the crown of England, in 1199, the case of the great barons having liberty to build castles upon their own estates, was again agitated. They thought, that as John's title was precarious (his elder brother's son being alive) the juncture was favourable for their demands; and they were not deceived. David, brother to the king of Scotland, was at present in the grand assembly held at Northampton in which the barons swore an eventual fealty to John, on condition of their being confirmed in their privileges; one of which, they alledged, was that of fortifying castles on their own estates. William, as the first subject of England, lost no time in reviving his clam to the disputed northern counties. He sent ambassadors to the English regency (John being then in Normandy) with a peremptory requisition of the letigated counties; and with orders, if they should receive no satisfaction from the regency, to proceed to Normandy, and to apply to John in person. This was a delicate point, both with regard to John and the regency. The former was afraid that William might espouse the cause of his elder brother's son, the young duke of Brittany; and the latter, (who knew John's dispositions,) that, if he gratified the king of Scotland, they might unite together, and put an end to their liberties. After the Scotch ambassadors had their audience in England, the regency flatly refused to suffer them to proceed to Normandy, and, by messengers of their own, they informed John of their errand. His answer was, that upon his arrival in England, he would do justice to the king of Scotland, provided the latter kept the peace in the mean time. John, on the twenty fifth of May, landed in England; and,

after his coronation, he gave audience to the Scotch ambassadors, who were the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and Hugh de Mauleville. John gave a soothing answer to William, and promised that he would satisfy his dear cousin in all his demands, if he would grant him a meeting; and at the same time he ordered the bishop of Durham to receive William upon the frontiers. William's reply was, that he was no longer to be trifled with, and that he knew how to do himself justice, if he did not obtain it within forty days. John, who had come to Nottingham in order to meet William, upon receiving this unexpected answer, made William de Stuterville his lieutenant for the northern counties, his own affairs obliging him to return to Normandy.

In the year 1200, William's claim upon Northumberland remain still undetermined. He probably had trusted to the friendship of the northern barons, who disliked his entering into possession of Northumberland. Upon the breach that happened between John and his turbulent natural brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York, John sent a most splendid embassy to invite William to meet him at Lincoln. The ambassadors were, Philip, bishop of Durham; Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk; Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford; David, earl of Huntingdon; Roger de Lucy, constable of Chester; William de Vesci, Roger de Ross, and Robert Fitz Roger, sheriff of Northumberland. On the twenty-first of November both princes met at Lincoln; and William performed his homage in public to John upon the Bone-hill there. I hazard little in saying, that this homage was performed by William on a presumption that it was to put him into possession of Northumberland; for David, at that time, certainly was earl of Huntingdon. It is indeed uncertain, whether he did not hold it as a subfee from William, who had several other estates in England at the same time, for which he might have done homage; but that which he performed at Lincoln is, without dispute, to be understood as done for Northumberland. The two kings, however, were far from agreeing upon the terms of William's investiture. John insisted upon his joining with him in a war



he was then meditating against the king of France, who had of late forced him to a most dishonourable treaty. William absolutely refused to do this; upon which the two kings parted, dissatisfied with each other; but John promised to give William an answer by next Whitsuntide.

In 1209, the misunderstanding between William and John still continued. The former complained of a castle built near Berwick, by John's orders; and the latter pretended that William had acted against his allegiance, by giving his daughter in marriage to the earl of Bologne, and shelter to the English rebels. John (who was then upon very ill terms with his subjects) was glad of a popular pretext for keeping an army on foot. He took the field, and threatened to invade Scotland. By this time William had demolished the fort; and neither party inclining to come to extremities, a conference was held at York, where the matters were compromised; but the historians of the two nations differ widely as to the terms. Those of England say, that William engaged to pay down eleven thousand marks of silver to John, and to deliver up his two daughters as hostages for the performance of the treaty; but that John promised not to rebuild the fort. Mr. Rymer has accordingly printed William's bond for this purpose, which is dated at Northampton, August the seventh, 1209. Buchanan and the Scotch historians, on the other hand, say, that the money paid was by way of dowry for the two young princesses, who were to be married to John's two sons. Fordun's account is, however, to be most depended on. He says, that William had twice utterly demolished the fort then building at the mouth of the Tweed, by John's orders; that he had driven away, taken, or killed, all the work men employed upon it; and that, after tedious negotiations on both sides, it was agreed that the two Scotch princesses should be put into John's hands, to be married, in nine years, to his two sons, Henry and Richard, who were yet boys. There can be no doubt of this transaction, and Fordun's relation is strongly corroborated by the record which Mr. Rymer has published; for he tells us, that William gave his bond to

John for the payment of fifteen thousand marks, at four different terms, within two years. I am now to return to the other parts of William's history, which I have hitherto omitted, in order to preserve his transactions with England as entire as possible.

If William's reign was not so splendid as those of some of his predecessors, it was owing to the great attention he paid to the happiness of his subjects. He cleared his kingdom of thieves and robbers; he erected magnificent buildings in his dominions, witness the ruins of the abbey of Arbroath; he generously made a present of two thousand marks of silver, to help to defray the ransom of his friend Richard, king of England; and, before he had a son, he obliged his nobility to recognize the right of his daughter Margaret to succeed him. He gave his sister in marriage to Roland earl of Galloway, whom he entirely detached from the English interest, by creating him great constable of Scotland, which post was hereditary, but fell to the crown by the death of William de Morville without issue. Harold earl of Caithness, presuming upon his remote situation, had been guilty of many oppressive acts, and kept the field with an army. He had two sons, Rory and Torfin, who filled the neighbouring country with devastation; but William marched against them, and defeated them in a pitched battle, in which Rory was killed. Next year Harold himself, who had been pardoned by the king, was instigated by his wife again to break into rebellion; but being defeated and taken prisoner by the royal forces, he was shut up in Roxburgh-castle. When the king's resentment was abated, he was set at liberty; but his son Torfin surrendered himself a hostage for his good behaviour. Harold, notwithstanding this, persisted in his rebellious practices, for which Torfin was punished by the loss of his eyes and genitals.

About this time was born Alexander, prince of Scotland, to the great joy of his father, who soon after summoned a convention of his states at Musselburgh, in which Alexander was recognized as his successor. In 1205 William's brother, David earl of Huntingdon, acknowledged the young prince,

as William's apparent heir. According to Fordun, William made a simple and entire surrender to the king of England of all the lands he held in that kingdom; and they were reinvested in prince Alexander, at Alnwick. Two meetings were afterwards held; one at Durham, and the other at Norham, at which were present both kings and their nobles, together with the queen of Scotland; and a perpetual peace was concluded between the two kingdoms. To make it the more permanent, prince Alexander, when he came to be fourteen years of age, was knighted at London by the king of England; and he returned to his father after Easter 1212. The English historians say, that William was then grown old and unfit for government; and that he reposed confidence in John, against his discontented subjects. Whatever may be in this, it is agreed on all hands, that William behaved to him as a faithful ally, and sent him the first intimation of the conspiracy which the English barons had entered into against John's person and government; but at the same time he gave refuge to Eustace de Vesce, a great discontented English subject. From those circumstances there is reason to believe, that the barons of England had applied to William for his assistance against their king. We learn however from Fordun, that John afterwards came to Norham, in order to have an interview with William, but that the latter fell sick at Haddington, and began to have such a mistrust of John's intentions, that he would not suffer his son to proceed to the meeting, though John earnestly desired it.

In autumn 1213, William made progress to the northern parts of his dominions, which had been infested by a rebel, Gothred MacWilliam. He had appointed the earl of Fife governor of Murray, and had built two castles for bridling the rebels. The public commotions still continuing, he sent the earls of Athol and Buchan, with Sir Thomas de Lundy, against Gothred, whom de Lundy defeated; and, after killing six hundred of his men, he brought him prisoner before the earl of Buchan, whose name was William Cummin, high justiciary of Scotland, by whom Gothred was sentenced to be hang-



ed. This example was far from restoring peace in those parts ; but in the mean time William died in 1214, on his return from the North, at Stirling, being quite worn out with age and infirmities. Before he expired, he ordered his nobility to be summoned, and again to swear allegiance to his eldest son Alexander. He died in the 74th year of his age, and the 49th of his reign. His true character seems to have been that of a peaceable prince, a severe justiciary, and sacrificing all considerations of his own grandeur to the tranquillity of his dominions. He is by Hector Boece accused of having emasculated all the male descendants of Harold earl of Caithness, on or near a certain eminence which still retains the name of Stony-hill. He was the founder of the new town of Perth, after he had narrowly escaped being drowned in the old town, by an inundation which swept away his palace, together with his son, an infant, his nurse, and fourteen of his attendants. Those facts, though not very important, are mentioned by Buchanan and other Scotch historians, who are miserably defective in their information as to more material points.

William is said to have been twice married, but the name of his first wife is not known. By his second wife, Ermengarda, he had his son and successor Alexander, and two daughters, Margery and Isabel. The first was married to the famous Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England ; and Henry the Third, afterwards king of England, was so much in love with the second, that he would have married her, had he not been dissuaded by his peers from marrying the youngest sister of his subject's wife : upon which she was given to the earl marshal of England.

At the time of Alexander's accession, the crown of Scotland made a very respectable figure in the affairs of Europe. The liberties of England were on the point of being swallowed up by the pope ; and the king and the court of Alexander was crowded with the English barons, who put themselves under his protection, and called upon them to head them against their tyrant. Alexander was then about sixteen, and

of fire and spirit, and master of an united people. His uncle, David earl of Huntingdon, though now old and infirm, acted as chief mourner at the late king's burial; but neither he nor his nephew could be brought to declare war against John, or to join the northern barons, till John had entirely over-run their estates, and parcelled them out among his followers. This indecision was one of the chief reasons that induced the English barons to turn their eyes towards the king of France, for their deliverance. Alexander at first demanded, (in consequence of former conventions) to be put in possession of Northumberland and the northern counties; but John, who thought he had then obtained a complete triumph over the liberties of his people, slighted his request, and even made preparations for invading Scotland. He had given all the tract between the river Teife and Scotland to Hugh de Baliol and another nobleman, upon the terms of their defending it against the Scots. Alexander complained of this; but before he took the field, he exacted an oath of homage from the northern barons, and from all the military tenants of the counties to which he laid claim. He then fell upon Northumberland, which he easily reduced, while John invaded Scotland by the way of Yorkshire. The inhabitants laid their country waste, and fled for protection to Alexander, who had returned to Melros; but he could not prevent John from burning the towns of Wark, Alnwick, and Morpeth, and taking the strong castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. He next plundered the abbey of Coldingham, reduced Dunbar and Haddington, laid all waste where-ever he marched, and boasted that he would thereby hunt the little red fox (alluding to Alexander's complexion) out of his lurking holes.

By this time Alexander had returned to the protection of his capital, against which John was advancing on a full march. He found Alexander encamped with the river Esk in his front, and ready to give him battle; upon which John precipitately marched back. He was pursued by Alexander; and, in order to cover his retreat, John burnt the towns of

Berwick and Coldingham, and instructed, in his own person, his mercenaries in every barbarous act; for he set fire in the morning to the houses where he had lodged at night. His army had the advantage of being supplied from his fleet with provisions, while Alexander's troops were stopt in their march by the desolation which their enemies had spread. Alexander being thus forced to discontinue his pursuit, marched to the westward; and entering England by the way of Carlisle, which he took and fortified, he proceeded as far as Richmond, and retaliated upon John's adherents the same severities which his own subjects had undergone. There he was again stopt by John's ravages, and forced to return to Westmoreland to his own kingdom. This expedition was finished gloriously on the side of Alexander; for it is acknowledged that he received the homage of all the Yorkshire as well as Northumbrian barons, (who opposed John) and that he took them under his protection. We are ignorant of the nature of the homage which Alexander exacted; but probably it was as to a sovereign, and that he no longer acknowledged John's title to the crown of England. It was this time that the English barons applied for assistance to the king of France, who sent them his son Lewis, to whom they transferred their allegiance, and whom Alexander likewise recognized as king of England.

Upon the arrival of Lewis, in England, the Yorkshire barons besieged York, which was still in John's hands. Lewis, among his other acts of sovereignty, summoned Alexander to do him homage; but the latter, by this time, was besieging Carlisle, which had again fallen into John's hands. The state of affairs in the south did not admit of Alexander's continuing the siege. He therefore appeared before Barnard-castle, which having been strongly fortified by Hugh de Baliol, he was likewise unable to take, and in reconnoitring it he lost his friend Eustace de Vesci, one of the bravest noblemen in England. It does not appear that Alexander met with any opposition in his march through the heart of England to London, where he joined Lewis; though some say that their first interview was



at Dover. His assistance was highly seasonable ; and, upon Alexander's performing homage, Lewis confirmed all his rights to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. After the junction of the Scotch and the English army under Lewis, the progress of the latter was very rapid ; but the ravages of the combined army gave the English a disgust to the French government. It is at this time that we are to fix, an interview which Lewis and Alexander had with the king of France at Boulogne upon the affairs of England. At this meeting the king of France reproached his son for the untowardly state of his affairs in England, but above all for suffering the strong castle of Dover to remain in the hands of John. Upon the return of Alexander and Lewis to England the siege of Dover was formed, as was likewise that of Windsor-castle ; but, by this time, the French party in England had been ruined by the English, and had now little other dependance than Alexander's friendship and assistance. The sieges of both castles proved unsuccessful ; but Alexander continued faithful to his engagements with Lewis and the barons ; and, in August 1216, he brought to their assistance a fresh army, but obliged them to swear, at the same time, that they would make no peace with John without his consent.

This seasonable reinforcement brought to the barons by Alexander, once more turned the scale of success against John, who died about this time, and was succeeded by his infant son HENRY the third. The English nation being now rid of their tyrant, by the death of John, gradually reconciled themselves to his son, whose guardian was the brave earl of Pembroke. What part Alexander took, upon this great revolution of affairs, is uncertain ; but he seems to have continued still attached to the party of Lewis. Mr. Rymer has printed the treaty between Lewis and the young king's guardians, in which the king of Scotland was invited to be comprehended. Alexander had great reason to find fault with this treaty, which left him in a manner to the mercy of young Henry and his guardians, who were not obliged to regard the stipulations that had been made between him and Lewis. He thought proper

however to accept of the invitation, though he was thereby obliged to give up all the prisoners and acquisitions he had made during the war, Henry and the other party making the like concessions. His kingdom lay at this time under the papal interdict; but the Scots were the only people in Christendom, who at that period despised the thunder of the Vatican; nor do we find that either their king or they suffered by the interdict, which was taken off by the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham. Soon after, Alexander gave up Carlisle, which had again fallen into his hands, and did homage to Henry for the earldom of Huntingdon, and his other English possessions, at Northampton, where he kept his Christmas in the year 1217.

Perhaps Alexander's domestic affairs had some influence upon his pacific conduct at this time; for we are told that Donald Bane, son to the rebel MacWilliam, together with an Irish potentate, invaded Scotland, but were defeated by Alexander's general, who by Sir James Balfour is called Mackentagar, for which he was knighted and nobly rewarded by his master. This rebellion being suppressed, Alexander turned his thoughts to marriage, and had a meeting with Henry at York. There the peace between the two crowns was confirmed, and Alexander demanded from Henry, Joan, his eldest sister, for a wife. The situation of this princess was very particular. She had, when very young, been betrothed by her father to the earl of March's son, Hugh de Lusignan, who had formerly been in love with the mother. He received her accordingly from John's hands; and she was to remain in his custody till she should arrive at a proper age. In the mean time John died, and Lusignan married his widow; but even then refused to deliver the young princess to her brother and the English nation, who reclaimed her, unless he was paid a sum of money by way of ransom. She continued still in Lusignan's hands, when Alexander and Henry had their interview at York; and the latter agreeing to the match, he bound himself, if possible, to procure his eldest sister for Alexander; but if he should fail, he promised him his younger

sister in marriage, in fifteen days after the time prefixed for the nuptials of the eldest. This affair being adjusted, the case of the two Scotch princesses, who had been delivered to John to be married to his two sons, and remained yet in England, fell under deliberation. The crying injustice that had been done them by John (who never meant that his engagements should reach farther than the receiving the money for their dowries) prevailed with Henry to promise to send them to Scotland, if he did not provide them with suitable matches in England; but at the same time he took a bond from Alexander, obliging him to perform his marriage with the princess Joan, if she could be recovered out of Lufignan's hands. All those matches fell out according to the wishes of the several parties. The princess Joan was married to Alexander, whose eldest sister, Margery, was married to Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England; and his second sister, with whom, as we have already seen, Henry himself was in love, to Gilbert, earl-marshal, the two greatest subjects Henry had.

The marriage between Alexander and the princess Joan was consummated at York, in 1221; and, during the life of that princess, a good understanding subsisted between the two kingdoms. In the year 1222, some disturbances broke out in Scotland. One Gillespy, at the head of a band of robbers, had burnt the town of Inverness, and had carried fire and sword through the adjacent counties; but he was defeated by the earl of Buchan, and his head, with those of his two sons, was sent to the king. Alexander seems at this time to have resided chiefly in the southern parts of Scotland; a circumstance which probably encouraged the disorders in the North, where a terrible scene happened this year in Caithness. That county was then in the fee of Adam, bishop of Orkney, whose officers collected his tythes and other dues so rigorously, that the people of the county rose, and dragging the bishop, and one of his attendants, Serlo, a monk, into his kitchen, there burnt them both alive. Alexander was at Jedburgh, and raising an army, immediately marched north; and seizing four hundred of the insurgents, he ordered them all to be



gibbeted. The earl of Caithness was strongly suspected of having been privy to bishop's murder; but by representing the oppressions the prelate had been guilty of, and that he had wantonly excommunicated the criminals, Alexander was contented to punish him with a large fine, mulcting him of the third part of his earldom. The same earl, however, next year is said to have redeemed the forfeited part of his earldom with another large sum of money; but upon his return home he was murdered, some say by his domestics, others by his enemies, and his body and house reduced to ashes.

We have already more than once remarked the difficulties attending the history of Galloway, on account of its peculiar constitution. Its princes or earls had, for some years preceding 1223, lived in a good correspondence with the court of Scotland, and had been considered as its first subjects, not only on account of their great possessions, but of their enjoying the post of high constable. Alan, the last prince of Galloway, died without male issue; but left behind him three daughters. The eldest Helen, was married to Roger de Quincy, earl of Winchester; Dervigild, the second, was wife to John Balliol, of Barnard-castle; and Christian, of William, earl of Albermanle. Alexander, no doubt, thought it a fortunate circumstance, that so great a fee should be divided among the several claimants; but in this he was opposed by Thomas MacDuaillen, the natural son to the last prince, who claimed the succession to the undivided fee. His pretensions were vigorously supported by the friends and tenants of his late father, who remonstrated against so noble a principality being parcelled out to foreigners, especially Englishmen; and MacDuaillen was soon in possession of all the estate. He was assisted by his father-in-law, Olave, who is called king of Man, by some of the petty Irish princes, and likewise by Sommerled, lord of Argyle. Alexander thought no time was to be lost in suppressing this dangerous rebellion; and immediately marched into Galloway at the head of an army. That of Thomas consisted of ten thousand men, but undisciplined in war, though full of spirits for action. Alexander drew up his troops in

three divisions. The first was led by himself; the second by his lord high-steward and the earl of Ross; and the third by Sir Archibald Douglass. As the royal army was much better disciplined and officered than that of the rebels, half the latter were cut in pieces, and the remainder threw down their arms; while Thomas and Gildroth, one of his confederates, escaped into Ireland. There they were joined by some fresh auxiliaries; but when they returned to Scotland, they found their party so much dispirited, that they threw themselves upon the mercy of Alexander, who pardoned them, as he likewise did Sommerled.

In 1226, Richard duke of Cornwall, we are told, paid a visit to Alexander in Scotland, with a view of marrying a princess of that royal family; but the match was opposed by Henry. That Richard might make such a visit at this time is no way improbable; but I know of no princess which Alexander had then to dispose of. The year after we find Alexander at Roxburgh, knighting John the Scot, as he is called, son to his uncle David, earl of Huntingdon. This nobleman afterwards succeeded to the earldom of Chester. The truth is, it is difficult, at this time to follow the history of Scotland in a regular chronological order; and therefore I am obliged, as usual, to be directed by records. From them we learn, that about the year 1235, Alexander and his queen paid a visit to Henry at London. The occasion of this visit appears from the English historians to have arisen from the fall of Hubert de Burgh, brother-in-law to Alexander. The great nobleman had been accused of having entered into several rebellious engagements with Alexander against Henry. When Hubert was charged with this, he frankly acknowledged his having formed certain connections with Alexander, in order that both of them might obtain redress of the grievances they suffered from their enemies at the English court. We know of no particulars which passed at this visit, but that a negotiation was entered into between the two kings, relating probably to Alexander's claims on the northern counties. Upon his and his queen's return to Scotland, he sent deputies, who laid all his preten-

sions before the English parliament. Though, as usual, his demands were postponed, yet Alexander had formed close connections with Llewellyn, the Welch prince of Aberfraw, as well as with Hubert de Burgh's party; and Henry thought proper to invit him to another meeting at Yerk.

From the papers published by Mr. Rymer, it appears as if Henry, at this time, had complained to the pope of Alexander's not having performed his homage to him; for we find some letters from his holiness to that effect. When the conferences opened at York, Alexander urged his claim to the estates in question, and charged Henry to his face with having falsified the promises that had been given him, appealing to several noblemen present for the truth of what he said; and laying before him, at the same time, the several engagements that had been entered into by his father John, for his being put immediately into possession of the disputed counties; and likewise a formal bond for the same purpose, given by Henry, to be executed near the time of his marriage with his queen. He concluded his speech by threatening to proceed to hostilities, if satisfaction was longer delayed him. Henry, who was one of the most irresolute, pusillanimous princes that ever sat on the English throne, could not deny what Alexander advanced; but offered him a pension of eighty marks a year, according to the English historians, with which Alexander seemed satisfied, and the assembly broke quietly up. Though I have related this interview as it has come to my hand, yet it is certain, that the marks then stipulated were either of very high value, and to be paid by weight, or that there is a mistake in the sum. I am, upon the whole, inclined to believe, that the meeting broke up without any effect; and the rather, as I perceive that Henry soon after appointed another meeting at York, under the mediation of the pope's legate. There the matter was again fully debated; and it was at last agreed, that Alexander should receive out of lands in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland two hundred pounds a year; and that if the revenues of the said counties did not amount to two hundred pounds a year, exclusive of those towns which



had castles in them, Alexander was then to receive the balance out of the adjoining counties, he paying, by way of reddendo, every year, a hawk to the constable of Carlisle. The earl of Warren was fidejussor, or guarantee, for the performance of this agreement on the part of Henry, as the earl of Monteith was on that of Alexander, who renounced all his right to Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.

On the breaking up of the conferences, the legate intimated to Alexander, that he had a commission from his holiness to pay him a visit in Scotland. Alexander, without saying any thing personally harsh to the legate, told him, that he never had seen, and that, if he could prevent it, he never would see, one of his order in Scotland; and advised him, as he tendered his own safety, not to set foot on his dominions, as he could not answer for what consequences might happen from the resentment of his subjects. Though the above fact is unquestionable, yet it is certain that several cardinals, and other Romish ecclesiastics, had been in Scotland before, but none of them with legantine powers.

In 1239 Otho, a new legate from Rome, having, without success, applied to an assembly of the English bishops for money, declared his intention to repair for the same purpose to Scotland. In this he was encouraged by some of the chief English nobility, who disliked his residence in England so much, that they offered to attend him to the frontiers with their followers. Otho, thus guarded, set out for Scotland; but, before he reached it, he was met by Alexander, who told him, that he thanked God his subjects were all good Christians, and that his legateship must not think of proceeding farther. Upon this resolute speech, Otho addressed himself to his English attendants, who interceded so effectually with Alexander, that he consented to admit him, but under an express article, witnessed by all present, that the prelate's admission should not be drawn into any precedent. He accordingly proceeded into Scotland about the end of September, held a national council at Edinburgh on the nineteen day of October, and departed in the beginning of November; so that his stay

could be only for a few weeks, a proof that neither Alexander nor his subjects were fond of his presence.

Before this time, the queen of England is said to have paid a visit to her sister-in-law, the queen of Scotland, who, in returning the visit, died, while she was on a pilgrimage at Canterbury. As she had no children, the crown remained unhired by Alexander. He immediately called a meeting of his states, who advised him to marry a second time; and his choice fell on the lady Mary, daughter to Egelrand de Coucy, one of the most powerful of the French nobility; and Alexander accordingly married her at Roxburgh. A perfect good understanding, till the Scotch queen's death, had subsisted between Alexander and Henry, from the time of the last accommodation at York. Alexander had even been entrusted with the charge of the northern English counties, either by a special commission from Henry, or, which is more probable, because they had, in fact, been mortgaged to him for the payment of his annuity, the precise value of which cannot now be ascertained. But many causes now concurred to break off their good understanding. In 1241, Alexander's young and beautiful queen was brought to bed of a son, who was christened Alexander; and at that time one Gillin, second son to the earl of Dunbar, was ambassador at the court of England; but the chief fomentor of the differences between the two kingdoms was one Walter Bisset, who, in the Scotch histories, is called lord of Aboyn. This Bisset was a man infamous for his vices and intrigues, and is noted as such in the contemporary chronicle of Peterborough. He and his followers had basely murdered Patric de Galloway, earl of Athol; and, to disguise their villany, they had set fire to the house, and consumed the body, that the death of the young lord, who was one of the most promising noblemen in Scotland, might appear to have happened by chance, during the revels which attended a tournament held at Haddington. As intermarriages were then very frequent between the two nations, David Hastings, of a noble English family, succeeded to the earldom of Athol, in right of his mother, and to earl Patrick, who had died without issue. Bisset, who

was notoriously known to have been the murderer, was summoned to take his trial before the king and the states of the realm; and upon his flying from justice, he and his uncles, who had been his accomplices, were banished from Scotland, and their estates forfeited. Walter took refuge in England, where he practised upon Henry's weakness so effectually, that he prevailed upon him to send a message, demanding Alexander to do him homage.

It is uncertain whether this homage was required to be done for Scotland, or any part of it. I am inclined to think it was demanded for that crown itself; because it appears, by a letter from Innocent the fourth to Henry, that the latter had desired his holiness to decree that the king of Scotland, as his vassal, might not be crowned without his permission, and that he might have the levying of the clergy's tythes in Scotland; both which demands the pope refused to agree to.

Scotland, perhaps, never had been so powerful, because it never was so well united with itself, as at this time. John de Coucy, brother-in-law to Alexander, was a determined enemy to the king of England, and promised to assist Alexander, in case of a breach between the two nations, with large supplies both of men and money. Alexander was personally beloved, and extremely popular in England, where Henry's person was despised, and his government detested; but Alexander raised of his own subjects an hundred thousand well armed foot, and a thousand horse. It was no wonder, if thus strengthened, he returned for answer to Henry's summons, that he was resolved not to hold a foot of land any longer in Scotland of the English crown. From this answer I am inclined to believe, that before this time the kings of Scotland had performed homage for some lands to the south of the Forth, which had formerly belonged to the Anglo-Saxons, or the Anglo-Normans. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that Henry complained of Walter Cummin, and some of the Scotch noblemen, for having built two castles, one in Galloway and the other in Lothian, which last was called the Hermitage; and that Alexander had given shelter to several English rebels, who



were accused of keeping up a traitorous correspondence with the French. Alexander, on the other hand, appealed to the nobility of both nations, whether he had not inviolably kept all his engagements with Henry; and had the satisfaction to see himself seconded by the whole body of his people, who voted him liberal supplies; upon which, he ordered his frontiers to be fortified, and prepared to march with his army into England. Before he set out, some disturbances happened from the friends and partizans of the Bissets, who having a great estate in Ireland, and being favoured by Henry, made several piratical descents upon the coasts of Scotland, where, with the assistance of their party, they did considerable damage. To repress such invasions for the future, Alexander appointed Sir Allen Durwart, an excellent officer, his lieutenant or justiciary during his absence.

Alexander, upon his arrival near Berwick, found that by Henry's orders a new fort was building on the same scite where an old one had been erected for bridling the garrison, and which he immediately ordered to be demolished. By this time, Henry was at the head of a strong body of foreigners as well as English; but he was attended by his great military tenants, especially his brother, the earl of Cornwall; chiefly that they might be at hand to make remonstrances against the injustice of his cause, and to compel him to make peace with Alexander. Henry had advanced as far as Newcastle, and Alexander was lying with his army at a place called Caldwell, when the earl of Cornwall, and the archbishop of York, undertook to meditate between the two princes. Their negociation was successful; and Alexander engaged to give no encouragement to the enemies or rebels of Henry; to renew his homage to him, as his liege-lord, for the possessions he held in England; and to desist from all incursions upon that crown, provided he was not oppressed. This last was a very remarkable provision, and can be understood only of Alexander refusing to submit any of his independent rights to the king and parliament of England. The treaty of York, which was made in presence of Otho, the pope's legate, was likewise renewed; and Henry,

by his brother, the earl of Cornwall, swore to observe the peace with Scotland, and not confederate with its enemies. It was agreed, at the same time, between both parties, that Alexander's young son, and successor should marry the princess of England, daughter to Henry; a match which had been more than once mentioned before, as the most effectual means for cementing the peace between the two kingdoms. This agreement was the more glorious for Alexander, because (if we believe Matthew Paris) Henry intended the entire reduction of all Scotland, and had assembled his Flemish auxiliaries for that purpose. I am now to attend the internal affairs of Scotland.

We are told of an expedition which Alexander made into Argyleshire, where he subdued many of the rebels; but probably they are the same I have already mention. Fordun likewise mentions the Irish who invaded Galloway having been cut off by the inhabitants of Glasgow, and that Alexander ordered two of their chiefs to be torn in pieces by horses at Edinburgh. In 1248 Lewis, commonly called the Saint, king of France, sent ambassadors to Scotland, to inform Alexander, that he was about to take a crusade for the recovery of the Holy-Land from the Infidels; and requiring Alexander's assistance. As the nation was then in peace, and the expedition extremely popular, the proposition was agreed to; and a body of volunteers was raised, the command of which was given to Patrick earl of March, David Lindsay of Glenesk, and Walter Steuart of Dundonald. The fate of the crusade is well known in history. It is sufficient to say here, that the Scots make no great figure in the authors who have treated of this expedition, which proves that they were less infected with religious frenzy than their neighbours; but scarce one of the few who went upon that crusade returned alive to their own country. Alexander did not long survive this transaction. Hearing of some commotions in Argyle-shire, he went by sea to quell them; but falling sick, he was on shore on one of the islands of that coast, called Kernerey, where he died in 1249, in the fifty-first year of his age, and the thirty-

fifth of his reign, and was buried, by his own desire, at Melross. He was an amiable but a spirited prince, and seems to have been perfectly well instructed in the art of balancing parties in England, from whence he apprehended his greatest danger. He was, says Matthew Paris, deservedly and equally beloved by the English and the Scots, for his justice, piety, and good-nature. In all his expeditions, he was firm and fortunate; but he has been by Buchanan, and some other authors, accused of having suffered the great family of Cummin to obtain too great an ascendancy in his dominions. He left no other issue besides ALEXANDER, his son and successor, by his second marriage.

This prince was no more than nine years of age at the time of his father's death, and was crowned at Scone, with great solemnity, on the 15th day of August. Fordun mentions a dispute that happened at the time of his coronation, between Durwart, the justiciary of Scotland, and Cummin, earl of Monteith. The former insisted upon his knighting the young king before he was crowned. Monteith opposed his proposal, and had such influence in the assembly, that the king was immediately crowned, without undergoing the ceremony of knighthood. It is probable, that the earl of Monteith thought that honour too great to be conferred by any subject, and opposed it, in order to pay a compliment to the king of England. Fordun, after very particularly specifying the manner of the king's coronation, which was performed by the bishop of St. Andrew's, tell us of a Highlander (probably one of those who went under the denomination of Sannachies) who repeated on his knees, before the throne, in his own language, the genealogy of Alexander and his ancestors, up to the first king of Scotland. The book of Paisley, in the king's library, which was given to the British Museum, and is the most authentic unpublished record of the Scotch history, says, that when the bishop of St. Andrew's crowned Alexander before the nobles of the land, he begirded him with a military belt. We are not, however, to suppose by this, that he invested him with the order of knighthood, which could be conferred only by a knight, but as an emblem of this tem-



poral jurisdiction. The same record gives us another much more important circumstance, with regard to the same coronation, which is, that the prelate explained first in the Latin, and afterwards in the Gaelic language, the laws and oaths relating to the king, who favourably agreed to and received them all, as he joyfully did benediction and coronation from the same prelate.

Among the first facts of his reign, was the improvement of his coin; for the cross, according to Sir James Balfour, was then made to touch the uttermost point of the circle, which in his predecessors reign it did not. All perhaps we can infer from this circumstance, is, that the alteration was intended to prevent clipping of money. In the year 1250, the young king and his mother met at Dumfermline, where they raised the bones of the good queen Margaret, wife to Malcolm the Third, and placed them in a golden shrine, magnificently enriched with precious stones.

Soon after, a meeting of the states was held, in which the nobility expressed an earnest desire that the match proposed between Alexander and the English princess should immediately take place. The earls of Monteith and Buchan, and the rest of the Cummins, would have gladly evaded or postponed this resolution, which they foresaw might be attended by the loss of their exorbitant power; but the assembly was so unanimous, that ambassadors were directly sent to London, to obtain a confirmation of the late peace, and to demand the king's daughter for their young master. Henry received the ambassadors with great pomp and many honours. He thought that now the time was come for acquiring the actual government of Scotland, at least during the young king's minority, which might be an introduction to his and the nation's agreeing to give up the so much disputed independency of their crown. He readily granted all their demands, and ordered some of his own nobility to return with the ambassadors to Scotland, and to carry with them safe-conducts under his own, and his court of peers, hands, for Alexander and his great lords to meet him at York, by Christmas following, which

was agreed to on the part of the Scots. Henry accordingly kept his Christmas at York, to which the king and queen dowager of Scotland repaired with their chief nobility. The two courts were magnificent beyond all expression, but the queen dowager outshone all the assembly in splendor. Her yearly revenues amounted to four thousand, (Paris says in another place seven thousand) marks, a sum equal to a third of those of the crown; but through the uncertain computation of the money of that time, it is impossible to ascertain computation of the money of that time, it is impossible to ascertain its present value. According to Matthew Paris, she had beside this, received a large fortune from her father, and had returned from France, and brought in her train many of her countrymen of great distinction. Nothing could be better conducted than the accommodation of the company; for in order to prevent the brawls and bloodshed which were then so common among the retainers and servants of persons of distinction, in taking up their lodgings, the retinue of the two kings had two streets set apart for their quarters. On Christmas day, king Alexander was knighted, together with twenty young persons of distinction at the same time, who were all most magnificently drest. Next day, the marriage-ceremony was performed with great pomp, and Alexander paid his homage to Henry for his English possessions, among which Lothian is particularly mentioned. Henry, after this, pressed his son-in-law to perform his homage for the crown of Scotland; but Alexander, who conducted himself with great sense and modesty, answered, that his business in England was matrimony; that he had come thither under Henry's protection, and by his invitation; and that he was no way prepared to answer so difficult a question.

Henry was perhaps encouraged to this request by the dissensions which then prevailed among the Scotch nobility, of which he expected to be the arbiter. Durwart was accused of having married the natural daughter of the late king Alexander, and of his having made interest at Rome to get her and her children legitimated, so as to be in a capacity to succeed

to the throne. The abbot of Dumfermline, then chancellor of Scotland, was charged with having passed this legitimation under the great seal; and being conscious of his guilt, he privately left York, and returning to Scotland, surrendered the great seal to the nobility, who ordered it to be broken in pieces till a new one could be made upon the king's return; and then the chancellor being shaved, shut himself up in a religious house. He was succeeded as chancellor by Gamelin bishop of St. Andrews.

The Cummins thought that Henry's influence over his son-in-law, and in the affairs of Scotland, was now too great; and fearing an impeachment against themselves, they withdrew from York, leaving Henry in full possession of his son-in-law's person. To shew he deserved all the confidence the Scots could repose in him, he publicly declared that he dropped all claim of superiority upon their crown; and that he would ever afterwards act as the father and guardian of his son-in-law; confirming his assurances by a charter. Upon Alexander's return to Scotland, he found his affairs had been well conducted during his absence; but, by this time, the Cummins had formed a strong party against his English connections.

They and their followers exclaimed, that Scotland was now no better than a province of England; and the following relation of this intricate affair is collected from English contemporary writers, and indisputable records. Henry had secret intelligence, that the Scotch nobility kept their king and queen as two state-prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh; upon which, the queen of England privately sent a physician, whom she could trust, to enquire into her daughter's situation. He had the address to be admitted into the company of the young queen, who gave him a most lamentable detail of her condition. She said, that the place of their confinement was unwholesome to the last degree; that they were debarred from seeing any company; that their health was in imminent danger; and that they had no concern in the affairs of government. The English writers leave us in the dark as to the means by which the king and queen were reduced to this dreadful situation;



but the Scotch inform us, that the Cummins usurped the whole power of the state.

Henry, who seems to have had a sincere affection for his daughter and his son-in-law, was under difficulties how to act. On the one hand, he was afraid of their safety, if he should take violent measures; and he knew that, in such a case, the bulk of the Scotch nation would suspect that he had designs upon their independency: on the other hand, he dreaded the ambition, power, and wickedness of those who kept the royal pair in a thralldom that was dangerous to their lives; nor was he insensible that some of them had secret views upon the crown itself. By the advice of the Scotch royalists, among whom was the earls of Dunbar, Fife, Strathern, Carric, and Robert de Bruce, he proceeded in a middle, and indeed a wise, manner. He assembled his military tenants at York, from whence he himself advanced to Newcastle, where he published a manifesto, disclaiming all designs against the peace or interest of Scotland, and declaring, that the forces which had repaired to York were intended to maintain both; and that all he meant was to have an interview with the king, and the queen his daughter, upon the borders. Henry proceeded from Newcastle to Wark; and from thence he privately dispatched the earl of Gloucester, with his favourite John Mansel, with a train of trusty followers, to gain admission into the castle of Edinburgh, which was then held by John Balliol and Robert de Ross, noblemen of great interest in England as well as Scotland. The earl and Mansel being disguised, got admittance into the castle, on pretence of their being tenants to Balliol or de Ross; and their followers obtained access on the same account, without any suspicion, till they were numerous enough to have mastered the garrison, had they met with resistance. The queen immediately joined them, and disclosed all the thralldom and tyranny in which she and her husband were held; and, among other particulars, she declared, that she was still a virgin, as her jailors obliged her to lie in a bed apart from her husband. The English being masters of the castle, ordered the king and queen to be

accommodated with one and the same bed that very night; and Henry hearing of the success of his party, sent a safe-conduct for the royal pair to meet him at Alnwick.

We may reasonably presume, that by this time the royal party had taken the field, and that the Cummins were unable to face the storm which was now ready to burst upon them; for we know of no opposition that Alexander and his queen met with on their road to Alnwick. Robert de Ross was summoned by Henry to answer for his conduct; but throwing himself at the king's feet, Henry punished him only by the sequestration of his estate, as he did John Balliol by a severe fine, which that prince applied entirely to his own use. From the information of records we learn, that the royal pair were attended to Alnwick by the heads of their party, and that they agreed that Henry should, at that juncture, act as his son-in-law's guardian. We accordingly find, in Mr. Rymer's collections, a writ, by which the most obnoxious of the Scotch nobility, meaning the Cummins and their friends, were removed from the council-board, and others substituted in their places. Henry, however, to avoid giving offence to the Scots, bound himself, that what he then did never should be drawn into a precedent to the prejudice of Alexander, his heirs or successors, or the crown of Scotland. At the same time, he engaged to assist, to the utmost, the earl of Dunbar, and the other loyal noblemen we have named, by whose councils and aid the deliverance of their majesties had been effected. The great seal was given to the bishop of Dunkeld; Sir David Lindsay was made chamberlain; and Durwart, for some eminent services he had done to king Henry, had his patent for being chief justiciary of Scotland renewed for seven years.

The Cummins, all this time, were privately strengthening their party in Scotland, but outwardly appeared perfectly well satisfied with all the arrangements that had been made. This threw Alexander into a state of security; and the earl of Monteth, with a band of his followers, surprized him, while asleep, in the castle of Kinross, from whence they carried

him to that of Stirling. The other conspirators who joined the Cummins in this treason were, Sir Hugh de Abernethy, Sir David Lochore, and Sir Hugh de Barclay. While the rebels were making dispositions for restoring their power and influence, the whole nation was a scene of confusion. The great seal was forcibly taken from Robert Stuterville, substitute to the chancellor, the bishop of Dunkeld; the estates of the royalists were plundered; and even the churches were not spared. The deliverance of the king was owing to a passion which the earl of Monteith's wife had conceived for one Robert Russel, an English gentleman, which, according to the Scotch histories, impelled her to poison her husband. Whatever may be in that, it is certain, that the earl died at a juncture very critical for Scotland; and that his death disconcerted all the schemes of his party, which never afterwards made head against the royalists. Soon after the earl's death, his widow married her paramour; upon which she was imprisoned, and accused of having been guilty of the above-mentioned crime. This charge never was proved. The Scotch writers say, that the countess delivered herself from prison by the help of money; and that she applied to the court of Rome for redress of the injury done her, and the seizure that had been made of her great fortune. His holiness accordingly sent one Poncius to York, with a commission to enquire into the affair. Poncius summoned before him Walter Bullock (who had entered into possession of the Monteith estate, in right of his wife, who was sister to the late earl) and many of the nobility and clergy of Scotland. They pleaded, that they were exempted from answering any jurisdiction without the bounds of their own country; and the king joining with them in the same plea, the matter went no farther. The truth is, the whole of this affair seems to have been a most wicked conspiracy against the poor innocent and her second husband; for her beauty and riches appear to have been her chief crimes. Before she discovered her marriage, she had rejected the suits of some of the principal Scotch nobility, which had exasperated them to persecute her and her husband in the unmanly



manner they did; for the crime with which they were charged was so far from being proved, that Bullock paid her a certain sum, to which she had a claim, when he entered upon the estate.

Alexander being thus restored to the exercise of regal authority, acted with great wisdom and moderation; for as he was now of age, he pardoned the Cummins and their adherents upon their submitting to their authority; and he obtained thereby leisure to attend the affairs of his government. These consisted chiefly in regulating the succession of the great fees (which was then very irregular, most of them being inherited by females or their descendants) and the affairs of the church, but a storm was now ready to break upon Alexander from another quarter.

I have already mentioned the engagements under which Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore, laid himself to the king of Norway, for assisting him in making good his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. Haquin, at this time king of Norway, alledged, that those engagements extended to Donald's delivering up the islands of Bute, Arran, and others, in the frith of Clyde, as belonging to the Ebudae. Some negotiations for that purpose, during the reign of Alexander the second, are mentioned by Danish and Norwegian writers, but they were attended with no consequence; for Alexander, instead of yielding up the islands demanded, seemed disposed, towards the latter end of his reign, to recover those which his crown had lost. On the first of August, 1263, Haquin appeared with no fewer than an hundred and sixty ships, having on board (if we are to believe the Scotch authors) twenty thousand troops, who landed and took the castle of Ayr. When the news of this invasion came to Alexander, he dispatched ambassadors to enter upon a treaty with Haquin; but the latter, flushed with success, rejected all terms, and, after making himself master of the isles of Arran and Bute, he passed over to Cunningham. Alexander, by this time, had raised an army, which he divided under three leaders. The first division was commanded by Alexander, high-steward of Scot-

land, and great grand-father to him who was afterwards Robert the second, the first of the Stewartine royal line, and it consisted of the Argyle, Athol, Lenox, and Galloway men; by which we may conclude, that the patrimonial estates of the Stuarts lay in those countries. The second division was composed of the inhabitants of Lothian, Fife, Merse, Berwick, and Stirling, under the command of Patrick earl of Dunbar. The king himself led the third division, which formed the center; and under him fought the inhabitants of Perthshire, Angus, Mearns, and the northern counties. Haquin, who was an excellent general, disposed his troops in like manner for battle; and it was not long before both armies met at a place called Largs. The invincible hatred of the Norwegians and Danes, which had been delivered down among the Scots from father to son, rendered the battle that followed long doubtful, and uncommonly bloody. The Norwegian cruelty was the field-word to the Scots; and at last victory declared in their favour, chiefly by the valour of the high-steward, whose troops had the most immediate interest in their defeat. After the invaders were broken, the carnage that ensued was horrible. No fewer than sixteen thousand Norwegians fell upon the spot, and five thousand Scots. Some escaped to their ships, which were so totally wrecked the day after, that it was with difficulty Haquin procured a vessel which carried him, and a few of his friends, to the Orkneys, where he soon after died of grief.

This invasion was greatly forwarded by the king of Man, by some called John, or Owen, a petty prince, who maintained a kind of independency, by giving refuge to the fugitives and pirates of the neighbouring nations. The kings of Scotland had long laid claim to the superiority of the island; and Alexander the second had offered Owen very considerable terms to detach him from the Norwegian interest, but without success. The battle of Largs seems to have decided the fate of the little island; for I perceive that it submitted at this time to Alexander, who undertook to protect it, provided this prince (for so is called) should always have in readiness

ten gallies for the service of the Scots when required. The submission of Owen had a great effect on the chiefs of the other islands belonging to the Norwegians; and Haquin's son and successor, Magnus (who, we are told, had landed in another part of Scotland, with reinforcements for his father) proposed a treaty with Alexander. Magnus, according to the testimony of all historians, was a wise and a learned prince, and very probably thought that his ancestors had been no great gainers by the troublesome possession of those Ebudæ islands. Alexander, who had then on foot an army, instead of listening to an accommodation, sent the earls of Buchan and Murray, with Allen the chamberlain, and a considerable body of men, to the western islands, where they put to the sword some of the inhabitants, and hanged their chiefs, for having encouraged the Norwegian invasion. Magnus, who had, by this time, returned to Norway, sent the bishop of Hemer (so called by Fordun) and his chancellor, as his ambassadors to Alexander, offering him restitution of the isles of Bute and Arran, provided he was left in quiet possession of the Ebudæ. Alexander rejected this proposal with indignation; and the bishop returning home, represented to Magnus the danger he was in of losing the whole; upon which a fresh embassy was sent to Scotland, consisting of Norwegian noblemen, with their chancellor at their head. After some conferences a treaty was concluded, by which Magnus renounced all right in those islands, which either his father, or any of his predecessors, claimed or possessed; but Alexander undertook to pay one thousand marks of silver in two years to Magnus\*, and a hundred marks yearly for ever after. Many of the Scots, I think with some reason, thought that this treaty was disgraceful to their crown, as the islands in question had been wrongfully alienated, and had been formerly indisputably held in sovereignty by the kings of Scotland; and Fordun says, that the ancestors of the Scots (which is by no means unlikely) held them under one prince Røthsay, long before they land-

\* Hearne's edition of Fordun says four thousand, which is followed by Buchanan.



ed in Britain. If the cession made by Donald Bane was with a reservation of superiority of the kings of Scotland (which does not appear to be the case) the paying an annual tribute for restoring them was not very consistent with Alexander's dignity; nor can I see, if they were independent of Scotland, with what justice he could hang their chiefs for taking part with their sovereign, the king of Norway. All that can be said in vindication of Alexander is, that the acts of his predecessors might have given a validity to that possession, which was illegal by the cession of Donald Bane; and that Alexander (which might very well be the case) had prudential reasons for what he did, which have not come to our knowledge.

As a cement of friendship between the two kings, a treaty of marriage was concluded between Margaret, Alexander's daughter, who was no more than four years of age, and Eric, son and heir to Magnus, who was likewise a child; and the marriage-contract was actually signed at Roxburgh; but the consummation of the marriage did not take place till some years after. Scotland having thus recovered some degree of tranquillity, Alexander had leisure to reward such of his great land-holders as had served him well in his war with the Norwegians. In an antient fragment of a chronicle, which a certain biographer says belonged formerly to the abbey of Icolmkill, mention is made of Walter Stuart, earl of Carric and March, the thane of Argyle (for so he is called) Robert de Londin, John de Strivelin, Walter Cummin, Thomas Malliber, and Colin Fitzgerald. The latter was a young Irishman, but descended from an illustrious English family, "who the year before being driven out of his native country (in a quarrel which belongs to the history of Ireland) had taken service under Alexander, who had received him kindly, and employed him about his person." This Fitzgerald had behaved so bravely at the battle of Largs, and against the islanders, that Alexander rewarded him with the lands of Kintail; and from his son Kenneth are descended the MacKenzies, a noble and a numerous clan in Scotland. From this instance, and many o

thers, it appears, the communications between Scotland and Ireland were then more frequent than is generally imagined. The similarity of names and language (for I apprehend that all Scotland north of Forth still made use of the Gaelic tongue) might render those intercourses the less observed by antient historians, as they appeared, in some sense, to be one people; but Fitzgerald being of an English family, is particularly distinguished.

In 1264, I find that the earls of Buchan and Mar, with Allen Durwart, were sent with an army to reduce the inhabitants of the newly ceded islands, who probably refused to submit to Alexander; and that they proceeded with great severity, by putting some to the sword, and transplanting others to different habitations. The same year Roger de Quincy, who was earl of Winchester, and great constable of Scotland, in right of his mother, eldest daughter of Alan, lord of Galloway, died, and his great estate was divided among his three daughters. This year is likewise distinguished for the death of Nicholas de Soules, who was descended from another great English family, and who, Balfour says, was the wisest and most eloquent man then in Scotland. In the same year I find Alexander at Scone, where he knighted the earl of Athol, Colban, son to the earl of Fife, and several other noblemen. But we are now to return to Alexander's affairs with England, which we have postponed, in order to keep them the more entire.

In August 1256, Alexander and his queen received an invitation from Henry to repair to his court, which they did with three hundred horse in their retinue. Their entertainment was sumptuous beyond expression; and Henry, the more to engage Alexander to his person, granted him a full investiture of the earldom Huntingdon, with the same rights that any of his predecessors had enjoyed. While Alexander and his queen remained with Henry, the sheriff of Northamptonshire had been guilty of a felony that deserved the gallows, to which he was condemned; but he was saved by his wife's application to the king and queen of Scotland, who prevailed

upon Henry to pardon him, contrary to the opinion of the most respectable noblemen about his court. Soon after the return of Alexander to Scotland, the dissensions between Henry and his barons, headed by the famous Simon de Montfort, came to a crisis; and both parties prepared to take the field. Henry, on this occasion, applied to his son-in-law for assistance; but matters were compromised for that time. Alexander's queen was then pregnant; and perhaps both she and her father were desirous that she should be delivered in England. The nobility of Scotland were uneasy at this circumstance; and Henry endeavoured to satisfy them, by passing the most ample instruments, promising that Alexander should not, during his abode in England, be desired to treat of any matters relating to his crown; that he should be at liberty to carry back his queen whenever he thought proper; and, if she was delivered in England, that both she and the child should be disposed of according to Alexander's directions; nay, that if Alexander himself should die, that the child should be delivered into the hands of the Scotch nobility: all which conditions were punctually fulfilled by Henry. He even (according to the English historians) exceeded in his generosity to the king and queen of Scotland. Alexander availed himself of the great privileges which had been granted to his predecessors, as independent sovereigns in their own country, but the first subjects in England. The magnificence of his entertainment and accommodations in his journey to Woodstock, where Henry's court was then held, was astonishing; and he accepted not only of the honours but of his daily appointment of five pounds as due to him by right, rather than owing to the politeness and affection of his father-in-law. In a record published by Rymer I perceive, that the farther the Scotch queen's pregnancy advanced, the more jealous were the Scotch nobility of her remaining in England. Henry therefore, to make them easy, agreed to a new deed, in which the names of the Scotch noblemen, to whom the child, in case of Alexander's death, was to be delivered up, were specified; and this deed was not only confirmed by the oaths of Henry's



brother, the king of the Romans, and other great noblemen, but Henry engaged to procure that of his son prince Edward. Henry likewise punctually observed all those additional engagements. The queen was delivered in England ; and she, with her husband, returned to Scotland in the same honourable manner they had left it.

The differences between Henry and his barons soon after this becoming irreconcilable, both parties took the field ; and Alexander sent to his father's aid five thousand men, under the command of Robert de Bruce and Alexander Cumming. They served at the taking of Northampton, where Henry obtained a victory by their assistance ; and, at the battle of Lewes, in the division commanded by Henry in person. Montfort, one of the best generals of the age, had made such a disposition of his troops as he knew would induce prince Edward to attack the Londoners, of whom he had privately a very contemptible opinion. The prince, as he had foreseen, imagining that the flower of the baron's army consisted of the Londoners, engaged and routed them. While Edward was engaged in the pursuit, Montfort, putting himself at the head of his choicest troops, made a most dreadful impression upon the division headed by Henry. His great object was to take him prisoner, together with his brother ; and, in defending them almost all the Scots were cut in pieces ; upon which Henry surrendered himself to Montfort, as his brother did to the earl of Gloucester. Cumming, who that day commanded the Scots, was likewise taken prisoner, as was Bruce and many other Scotch noblemen of great rank, who were sent to different prisons. Upon the quarrel which succeeded between Montfort and the earl of Gloucester, prince Edward, who had likewise been taken prisoner, obtained his liberty ; and when he defeated the former at the battle of Evesham, all the Scots were released from their confinement.

During the war between Henry and his barons, Alexander carefully watched over the northern parts of England ; and even after the battle of Lewes was gained, and Montfort was master of the rest of the kingdom, he and Robert Baliol

preserved the northern fortresses against all the power of the rebellious barons. The court of Rome, ever attentive to its own interests, imagined this to be a proper occasion for extending its influence over Scotland. It happened that Alexander, who had a just sense of the civil as well as religious independency of his people, at this time held the ballance between the great nobles and the ecclesiastics of his kingdom. The latter had been enriched beyond measure by the piety of former kings, who had been of opinion that their vast munificence to ecclesiastics tended to polish and improve their laity. In a few instances, perhaps, it did; but the clergy in general, by being rich, became sensual, proud, and ignorant. Those qualities exposed them at once to the derision and hatred of the nobility. The clergy complained to the king, who gave them no redress; on which they threatened to apply to the court of Rome. Alexander represented to his nobles the miseries which Henry the second and the kingdom of England had suffered through the influence of their clergy with his holiness; and, for some time, he prevented matters from going to extremes. Ottoboni, the pope's legate in England, did not let so favourable an opportunity slip. Being afraid to trust his person in Scotland, he summoned the Scotch clergy to attend him by their proctors in England; and he intended to exact four marks of silver from every parish, and six from every cathedral church in Scotland. The clergy had very little notion of such contributions, though they were frequent and excessive in all the neighbouring kingdoms. They had so few connections with the pope's court, that they considered him in temporal matters, as a foreign power. They looked upon extraordinary contributions paid to him, through his legates or agents, as oppressive, because they tended to diminish their own riches. They applied to Alexander, whom they found disposed to their wishes, and Ottoboni's demands were rejected. Upon his leaving England, where he had collected great sums, he was succeeded by another legate, who preached up a crusade, the most popular subject then in being. He pretended, like his predecessor, that his commission extended

to Scotland as well as England ; but Alexander sent him a message, forbidding him to set foot on his dominions, though at the same time he promised to contribute both in men and money to the crusade. Whatever Alexander's private opinion might have been, with regard to crusades, it is certain, that he would have found it difficult, if not dangerous, to have checked the public fondness for them at that time, and the earls of Carric and Athol were permitted to carry out some men and money to the Holy-Land ; but the former perished by the sword or sickness, and the latter dissipated his trust in idleness and extravagance.

The Scotch historians have fixed the year 1270, as the period when Lewis king of France formed a guard of an hundred Scots for his person. It is said, to the honour of Scotland, that at the time I treat of, a Scotchman was only another word for *Fidelity*. Some writers pretend, that this guard had been formed so far back as the year 883, when it consisted only of twenty men. Perhaps the good faith which Alexander and his predecessors had observed towards the English, their natural enemies, gave the rest of Europe a high opinion of their virtues ; nor is the name of the Scotch guard, even to this day, entirely abrogated in France. It is, at the same time, a melancholy truth, that the confidence, whether affected or real, reposed by the kings of France in the Scots, was fatal to the latter. They thought they never could overdo in their returns of gratitude and affection to princes who had thus gloriously distinguished them. They thereby involved themselves in difficulties which more than once brought them to the brink of destruction, as may be seen in the subsequent part of this history.

About this time, a controversy happened between David Hastings, earl of Athol, and John Cumming, concerning the castle of Blair, which the latter pretended had been built to his prejudice. The matter being referred to the king, Hastings was obliged to pay five hundred marks to Cumming, by way of indemnification for the castle. This dispute seems to have happened while the earl of Athol was abroad upon the crusade



for I find that this year, or the year before, he died at Tunis, as did the earl of Carric at Acon. The daughter of the latter, being countess of Carric in her own right, was married to Robert de Bruce the younger, and by her he became earl Carric. According to Fordun, the lady fell in love with Bruce at a hunting match, and carried him off, by a gentle violence, to her castle of Turnberry, where they were privately married without the king's consent. As she was a ward of the crown, the marriage no sooner became public, than Alexander seized her castle and all her estate; but by the intervention of friends, and the payment of a sum of money, the affair was compromised, and Bruce was taken into favour. This Bruce was the father of king Robert the first of that name.

In the year 1273, Alexander had an interview with the king of England, for settling some matters of property among their subjects, who were now so blended by intermarriages, that the discussion of their claims became very difficult, because of the different constitutions and modes of succession in the two kingdoms. Malcolm Canmore and his successors seem to have had a strong bias towards introducing English families into the great fiefs of Scotland, in order to balance the ferocious dispositions of the islanders and the Highland clans. The English were fond of such acquisitions, which generally happened by marriage, because they became thereby more powerful and independent. This policy, however, afterwards operated fatally, when, by a train of unexpected and disastrous events, the liberties of Scotland were almost extinguished by Edward the first. Next year, died Margaret queen of Scotland; and her death was followed by that of famous Allen Durwart, who left three daughters, co-heiresses of his estates. The history of Scotland affords few matters of importance of this, till the year 1279, when David, Alexander's second son, died. His death afterwards proved a heavy blow to Scotland. Next year, prince Alexander, the king's eldest son, was married with great pomp to the daughter of the earl of Flanders. The year after, the lady Margaret, Alexander's eldest daughter who had been betrothed to the king

of Norway, took shipping for that country with a great retinue. A ship, in which was Sir Bernard Mouat, and about thirty other persons of distinction, was wrecked, and they returned to Scotland.

Henry the third of England, the father and friend of Alexander, was now dead, and succeeded by his son, Edward the first, who afterwards proved the scourge of Scotland. Edward, upon his return from the Holy-land, where he was at the time of his father's death, was crowned; and Alexander, with all his family, was present at the ceremony. Soon after he received the crown, Alexander paid him his homage for his English estates, and particularly (says Fordun) for the lands and lordships of Penrith, and other estates, which the late Henry had given to Alexander in marriage with his daughter. Alexander proved an excellent ally to Edward in his wars against the French; and Edward passed a charter, by which he acknowledged, that Alexander's services in those wars were not in consequence of his holding lands in England, but as an ally to his crown. In the parliament which was held at Westminster in 1278, Alexander was present, as the first peer of England; and I perceive, that at this time, Edward had formed pretensions upon paramount power to the crown of Scotland. This appears from a salvo which he inserted in the charter, acknowledging the superiority, by which he reserved his right to the homage of the kingdom of Scotland, when it should be claimed by him or his heirs. The bishop of Norwich, who was to administer the oath, suggested that salvo; and this was the reason why Alexander would not perform the homage in person, but left it to be paid by Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, Alexander standing by, and expressly declaring, that it was only paid for the lands he held in England. It must be acknowledged, that it was an extraordinary proceeding; but we are to remember that Alexander was at this time in Edward's power.

In 1283 died Alexander prince of Scotland, in the twentieth year of his age, at the castle of Stirling. Soon after, four Flemish knights arrived in Scotland, and, with the king's per-

permission, carried back his eldest son's widow to her father, the earl of Flanders. His death was followed in a month after by that of his sister, the queen of Norway, who left an only daughter, Margaret, scarcely a year old, by her husband, king Haquin.

This infant princess being the only remains of Alexander's progeny, his nobility and the states of his kingdom solemnly addressed him to marry. He gave way to their instances, and dispatched as his ambassadors to France his lord-chancellor of Scotland, Sir Patrick Graham, Sir William St. Clair, and Sir John de Soulis, to demand in marriage Joletta, daughter to the count de Dreux; to whom he was accordingly married, immediately upon her arrival in Scotland. About this time, the king of Norway, after the death of his queen, sent a solemn embassy to Scotland, to demand a revenue of seven hundred marks a year, which had been eventually settled by the marriage-contract upon young Margaret, the issue of their Norwegian majesties. Alexander received the ambassadors with great politeness, paid their demand, loaded them with presents, and dismissed them, with an ambassador of his own, to his son-in-law. This seems to have been the last public act of this excellent prince's life; for he soon after was killed, while hunting, by his horse rushing down a high precipice, since called the Black Rock, near Kinghorn, on the nineteenth of March, 1285, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventy of his reign.

Alexander the third, if we consider the times in which he lived, must be acknowledged to have been a prince of extraordinary virtues and abilities. No king ever pursued more effectual measures than he did to reclaim his subjects from the feudal barbarities. He divided his kingdom into four circuits which he yearly visited. Instead of his great lords, he ordered the sheriffs of the counties to attend him with a number of men; and thus he was always ready to execute justice in summary, but legal, manner. He discouraged idleness, and limited the number of horses to be kept by his noblemen, on pretence of preserving the corn for the use of the poor. He re-



gulated the affairs of commerce so, that Scotland was, in his time, considered as a trading country; and he died to the universal regret of his subjects, who foresaw the dreadful consequences of his untimely fate.

At the time of Alexander's death, the Scots were acquiring a new character. They cultivated connections with the continent. They had got rid of many prejudices and prepossessions with regard to the government; and we may venture to say that they were, at that time, a far more civilized people than either the English or the French. This undoubtedly was owing to the moderation of their princes, who never broke into the great barriers of public liberty. Their succession was regulated, and their kings knew the secret of preserving the balance between their great land-holders and their tenants. Disputes with the see of Rome, which were the sources of all the calamities in their neighbouring countries, were unknown in Scotland; and this we can attribute only to the liberal disposition of the people, who took care to avoid that spiritual tyranny, which rendered all the nations round them slaves.

The death of Alexander, however, is a fatal æra in our history. He left behind him no principle of union that could prevent the return of that ferocious disposition to which the feudal constitutions are too much attached; and however well-intentioned his nobility might be, their jealousy of one another, and the precarious state of the succession to their crown, disabled them, as we shall see in the succeeding part of this work, from providing for the exigencies of government with proper efficacy and authority.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Scots affairs from ALEXANDER the third's death, to the beginning of the life of Sir WILLIAM WALLACE. This is only a period of eleven years.*

**T**HE flourishing state of Scotland at the time of Alexander the third's death, next to the wise administration

of her late kings, was owing (as has been mentioned) to the peoples spirit in maintaining their independency upon the court of Rome, a glory which no other nation in Europe could then boast of. The papal Yoke was so galling, and the crusading expeditions at once so prevailing and ruinous, that Germany, France, and England, were at that time not only enslaved but depopulated. Edward the first, one of the wisest but most enterprizing princes of his age, had early reasons to bewail the desolation of his country from those causes; and it is not surprizing, that he should cast a wishful eye on a country far happier than his own, and to which his predecessors had always kept up some claim of superiority. His numerous concerns on the continent contributed to his passion for rendering Scotland a province of England; for he found the Scotch interest not a little prevalent at foreign courts, especially that of France; but I shall at present confine myself to the immediate transactions between the two kingdoms.

The great subjects of Scotland, both before and after the time of Alexander's unhappy death, appear, from all their proceedings, to have been fully sensible that Edward would attempt to annex their crown to that of England. Upon the marriage of Margaret, queen of Norway, consort of king Eric, the states of Scotland passed an act, obliging themselves to receive her and her heirs as queen and sovereigns of Scotland. Edward was then in no condition to oppose this measure, in which the Scots were so unanimous, that he thought proper to dissemble his disquiet, and to endeavour to form a faction among their nobles. We accordingly find him supplying one of their greatest men, Bruce, lord of Annandale, with money, and giving subsidies to the king of Norway, an other northern courts, who were in perpetual want of his assistance. Under pretence of resuming the cross, he renewed his intrigues at the court of Rome, and demanded from the pope a bull for leave to collect the tenths in Scotland; but his holiness said he could make no such grant, without consent of the government of Scotland. Upon the death of Margaret queen of Norway, her daughter, in consequence of the act I have men-

tioned, was recognized by the states as queen of Scotland on the eleventh of April following. As she was then but two years old, the Scots, in the same assembly, came to a resolution of excluding from the affairs of their government not only Edward the first, but their queen's father; and they accordingly established a regency from their own number, consisting of the six following noblemen: Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, Sir James Cumming, of Badenoch, elder; James, lord high-steward of Scotland; who were to have the superintendency of all that part of Scotland which lay to the south of the Forth; William Fraser, bishop of St. Andrew's; Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife; and Alexander Cumming, earl of Buchan; who were to have the direction of all affairs to the north of the same river \*.

Those arrangements could not fail to give great disgust to Eric, who considered himself as the undoubted guardian of his own child and her interests; and we find him early cultivating a correspondence with Edward, to concert the means of shaking the new government, into which Edward easily entered. In this they were gratefully assisted by the death of the earl of Buchan, and the murder of the brave earl of Fife, two of the wisest as well as the greatest men of the kingdom. The steward of Scotland thought to supply their loss by forming connections with the earl of Gloucester, the most powerful subject in England (but at that time dissatisfied with Edward) and the earl of Ulster in Ireland; while the bishop of Dunkeld was chosen to supply the earl of Fife's place in the northern division. Both the English and Scotch historians pretend, but I think without the authority of records, that when the first assembly of the states was held, an ambassador appeared from Edward, and proposed a match between his son and

\* The seal made use of by this regency represented on one side of the arms of Scotland, round which is read, SIGILLUM SCOTIÆ DEPUTATUM REGIMINI REGNI. The reverse represents St. Andrew stretched upon his cross, to which he is bound by fillets, or ropes, round his wrists and ancles, with the following inscription:

ANDREAS SCOTIS DUX EST ET COMPATRIOTIS.



their queen. This account seems to be premature, and the true state of the transaction appears to be as follows.

Eric, or, as the Scotch historians call him, Haguemon, was under considerable pecuniary engagements to Edward; and perceiving that the states of Scotland were unanimous in the exclusion of all foreigners from the management of their affairs, he naturally fell in with Edward's views, and named commissioners for treating with those of England upon the affairs of Scotland. It does not appear that the Scots knew any thing of this negotiation, which terminated in a treaty of marriage between the queen of Scotland and Edward prince of Wales, young as they both were. This was a delicate point, and both kings proceeded as if they had foreseen the government of Scotland would not suffer their queen to be disposed of in marriage without their consent. It was agreed by the commissioners of the two kings, to acquaint the states of Scotland with the result of their conferences, and to demand that a deputation should be sent up for settling the regency of Scotland, or, in other words, for putting it into the hands of the two kings. According to a letter (the authenticity of which we cannot doubt) from pope Boniface to Edward, the latter applied to the holy see for a dispensation, the two parties being first-cousins; which was accordingly granted, but with a proviso that the peers of Scotland should agree to the match.

As the independency of their crown was the great object of the states, they could not refuse to treat of a marriage agreed to by the queen's two nearest relations, her father and her grand-uncle. They therefore appointed the bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, and Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, and John Cumming, to attend as their deputies, with full powers; but with a salvo to all the liberties and honours of the realm of Scotland, to which Edward agreed. These deputies met with those of England and Norway at Salisbury. The English commissioners were the bishops of Worcester and Durham, with the earls of Pembroke and Warren. Without too large an indulgence of conjecture, I must be of opinion, that the Scots were over-matched in this negotiation.

Whatever might be the patriotism of the two ecclesiastics, it is certain, that the two lay-deputies had many temptations for attaching themselves to Edward, who dictated the terms of the negotiation. Little or no notice was taken of the proposed marriage, because the dispensation was not yet arrived from Rome; but Edward's management was such, that he brought the Scotch deputies to agree,

First, that the young queen should, before the feast of all Saints, be sent (free of all marriage engagements) into England or Scotland. The Norwegian ambassadors undertook for the execution of this article.

Secondly, That if the queen came to England, she should be at liberty to repair to Scotland, as soon as the distractions of that kingdom were settled; that she should, on her arrival in her own dominions, be free of all matrimonial contracts; but that the Scots should engage not to dispose of her in marriage without her father's or Edward's consent.

Thirdly, The Scotch deputies promised to give such security as the Norwegian commissioners should require; that the tranquillity of the nation should be resettled before her arrival there, where she might reside safely as lady, queen, and heiress of Scotland.

Fourthly, The commissioners of Scotland and Norway, joined with commissioners from England, should remove such regents and officers of state in Scotland as should be suspected of disaffection, and place others in their stead. If the Scotch and Norwegian commissioners should disagree on that, or any other, head, relating to the government of Scotland, the decision was to be left to the arbitrations of the English commissioners. This agreement was dated and executed at Salisbury, the sixth of November, 1289. Two copies of it were given in French to the Scotch and English commissioners, and one in Latin to those of Norway.

It is evident, from the terms of this agreement, that notwithstanding the plausible pretexts with regard to the young queen's safety and independency, the whole tendency of it was to transfer the government of Scotland into Edward's

hands; and that his commissioners acted in concert with those of Norway. It appears, from the words of the agreement, that the Scots were then in a ferment concerning the disposal of their queen; and there can scarcely be a doubt of it by the party which Edward had in the country. Were any argument wanting to convince the reader of the insincerity of this negotiation, the engagements which Edward entered into with the commissioners of the two crowns, to give the young queen handsome entertainment when she should be put into his hands, would be sufficient. In fact, the alternative of her landing in Scotland, or, if she landed in England, to be sent thither without matrimonial engagements, were merely matters of form; because the pope's dispensation for the marriage between her and young Edward, is dated on the fourteenth of the same month.

Edward had by this time formed so strong a faction in Scotland, that no opposition was made to the agreement in a parliament (for that word was then made use of in Scotland) held at Brechin, to deliberate upon the settlement of the kingdom. It appears, that the Scotch deputies resided still in England, and that Edward had intimated to the regency of Scotland, that he intended, either in person, or by his commissioners, to interpose in their public affairs. It is uncertain whether he communicated the dispensation in form to the Scotch parliament; but most probably he did not, because, in a letter they wrote to him at this time, they mention it as an affair they heard by report; but, upon the whole, they highly approved of the marriage upon certain conditions, to which Edward was previously to agree. In the mean time, they dispatched a public letter to Norway, informing Eric of their consenting to the match, and even desiring him to send their queen directly to England, upon the conditions above-mentioned. Edward now thought that he had surmounted all difficulties with regard to the match; and, without making any mention of the conditions, he ordered the bishop of Durham, as his ambassador to Norway, to inform Eric of the consent of the Scotch nobility, and to demand the young queen for his son.



Eric, perhaps, was not pleased with a demand which put the person and interests of his daughter absolutely into the hands of another prince, whose sincerity he had reason to suspect, from his concealment of the proposed conditions. He therefore very wisely shifted off the delivery of the queen till he should hear farther from Scotland.

This delay alarmed Edward, who was so solicitous for the match, that he had undertaken, under a penalty to the Scots, that Eric should send their queen to England, or give security to do it, before the feast of all Saints following. His difficulties were increased, when the Scotch deputies presented him with the instructions which had been transmitted to them from their parliament, and which tended, as the reader will see hereafter, to put the independency of Scotland on a permanent foundation. Edward pretended, that the powers of the Scotch commissioners were too limited for concluding so weighty an affair; and in hopes of disuniting the parliament, which was still sitting at Brechin, he sent thither the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, with the earls of Warren and Lincoln, Sir William de Vescy, and Henry de Newark, dean of York, to act as his commissioners. Here the conditions which were to be agreed to, previous to the marriage, were exhibited, and they are as follow :

First, That the Scots should enjoy all their privileges and immunities, both ecclesiastical and civil. But there is an ambiguous, and indeed and insidious, salvo, which was, saving the rights of the king of England, or any other person, on the marches, or elsewhere.

Secondly, That if Edward and Margaret shall die, without issue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom shall revert entire, free, absolute, and independent, to the next immediate heir. To this and the subsequent articles no salvos were added.

Thirdly, That, in case of the death of prince Edward, without issue of the body of Margaret her majesty's person shall be remitted in like manner, free and independent, to Scotland.

Fourthly, That no person, either ecclesiastic or laic, shall be compelled to go out of the kingdom; to ask leave, either to elect, or present their elects; nor to do homage, fealty, and services; nor to prosecute law-suits; nor, in a word, to perform aught usually performed in Scotland.

Fifthly, That the kingdom of Scotland shall have its chancellor, officers of state, courts of judicature, &c. as before; and that a new seal shall be made and kept by the chancellor, but with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it.

Sixthly, That all the papers, records, privileges, and other documents of the royal dignity of the crown and kingdom, at the sight of the nobility, whose seals shall be appended to them; and there kept till either the queen shall return to her own kingdom, or shall have heirs to succeed her.

Seventhly, That parliaments, when called to treat of matters concerning the state or inhabitants of Scotland, shall be held within the bounds of the kingdom.

Eighthly, That no duties taxes, levies of men, &c. shall be exacted in Scotland,, but such as, being usual in former times, shall consist with the common interest and good of the nation.

Ninthly, That the king of England shall oblige himself, and his heirs, in a bond of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, payable to the church of Rome, in aid to the Holy-Land, to make restitution of the king in the cases aforesaid; and that he shall consent that the pope restrain him and his heirs, by excommunicating them, and interdicting their kingdom, both to the foresaid sum of money, if he or they do not stand to the premises,

Lastly, That Edward, at his own charges, shall procure the pope to confirm these articles within a year after the consummation of the marriage, and that, within the same time, the bull of his holiness shall be delivered to the community (that is, the barons and prelates) of the kingdom of Scotland.

Such were the *pacta conventa*, as they may be called, which the states of Scotland laid down previous to the marriage of

their queen with young Edward. They were agreed to by the English commissioners on the 18th of July, and ratified by Edward on the 28th of August following. When the whole of this transaction is considered, perhaps no people in history can be found who took more just and wise precautions, than the Scots did, to secure and perpetuate their independency. I may add, that the above articles are drawn up as if they had foreseen the claims that were to be made upon it by Edward. What the event might have been had the marriage taken place is difficult to pronounce; perhaps it might have been happy for both kingdoms, and such an union as subsists now between them might have taken place. It is indeed impossible to ascertain what the secret views of Edward might be, even when he ratified those articles; and I cannot help thinking, from the insidious salvo already taken notice of, and several other circumstances, that he had certain reservations in his mind which might terminate in his introducing into Scotland a nearer similarity to the English feudal law, so as to have brought the Scots to consent to escuages and other military services, and to have fought the quarrels of England upon the continent. A prince of his great sagacity, without some such view would not have expended the immense sums he did in forming a party among the Scots, even after the affair of the marriage was settled.

At the head of this party, were the bishop of St. Andrew's and John Baliol. That prelate, while he was in England, was highly caressed by Edward, from whom he had vast expectations of preferment; and Baliol, on account of his great English estates, considered the latter as his sovereign. Upon the bishop's return to Scotland, he acted as a spy for Edward, and carried on with him a secret correspondence, informing him of all public transactions. From his letters it appears, that the Scots, notwithstanding Edward's ratification of the above articles, were far from being unanimous as to the marriage. Bruce earl of Annandale had a suspicion that the young queen was dead, but from what it arose does not appear. It is however certain, that when the parliament met at Perth,



soon after Michaelmas 1290, Bruce assembled a body of men, and was joined by the earls of Mar and Athol; and all of them continued in arms, but without any public declaration of their designs. Intelligence was sent of those commotions to Edward by the bishop of St. Andrews. Baliol himself was the messenger, and the perfidious prelate advised Edward, in case the report of the queen's death should prove true, to march a body of troops towards the frontiers of Scotland, to support the direction which he had obtained in that kingdom by the late conventions, and to secure to himself the nomination, upon his own terms, of a successor to that crown.

In the mean time, Edward thinking that the marriage of the young queen with his son would certainly take place, and that thereby the government of Scotland would be thrown into his own hands, did not oppose the sending Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Wemys as ambassadors from the Scotch parliament to bring home their queen at the national expence. Previous to this, Edward appointed the bishop of Durham to be lieutenant in Scotland for the queen and her future husband; and all the officers there, both civil and military, obliged themselves to surrender their employments and fortresses to the king and queen, that is, to Edward, upon their arrival in Scotland. This was an engagement to which even the most degenerated among them cannot be supposed to have agreed to, but upon the supposition that the precautions they had taken to secure the independency of their country would be valid. Edward, in consequence of the bishop of St. Andrew's advice, was preparing to follow the bishop of Durham in person; but his queen dying on the road, a stop was, for some time, put to his journey.

The preparations for receiving the queen were for that age and country magnificent. The English ambassadors, attended by the chief of the Scotch nobility, were setting out for the north to receive her, when certain intelligence of her death arrived; but it is uncertain whether it happened before the arrival of the ambassadors in Norway, or in her voyage from thence, in one of the Orkney islands, on which she had been

driven by stress of weather. I am inclined to believe the former, and that Bruce had received his intelligence before the certainty of it was known to the government. She was not fully eight years of age at the time of her death, nor was she ever inaugurated; and therefore the Scotch historians have generally omitted her name in the catalogue of their sovereigns. I have however admitted it, because her right of succession was acknowledged and secured by the most binding acts that any constitution can establish.

The consternation into which the Scots were thrown by the death of their queen, can be more easily imagined than described. The well-concerted plans of Edward for joining the two crowns were now at an end, but he soon resolved to make subjection supply the place of union. He seems to have had the possibility of Margaret's death all along in his eye; and when the melancholy event happened, he was prepared to act accordingly. The state of Scotland, on the other hand, was deplorable. The act of succession established by the late king had no farther operation; because it was determined by the death of the young queen; and since the crown was rendered hereditary, there was no precedent by which it could be settled. The Scots in general, however, turned their eyes upon the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to the two kings, Malcolm the Maiden, who died in December 1165, and his successor William, who died in 1214; but both of them without lawful issue. The earl of Huntingdon was a prince of great activity and interest, well known for his adventures on the continent of Europe, (though they have come too unauthenticated to our hands to have a place here) where he had very considerable connections. He had three daughters. The eldest, Margaret, as we have already seen, was married to Allan, lord of Galloway. The only issue of that marriage was Dervigild \*, who was married to

\* This lady was still alive; and it is surprizing that none of the Scotch historians have observed, if it was now a settled point of the constitution, that females might succeed to the crown, that her claim was preferable to those of all the others, because she must have been preferred to Bruce's

John Baliol, a competitor for the crown. The second daughter was Isabella, married to Robert Bruce, and their son Robert Bruce was a candidate likewise. The third daughter Ada had been married to Henry Hastings, an English nobleman, a predecessor of the present earl of Huntingdon. The son of this marriage, John Hastings, was the third competitor; but as the other two claims were confessedly preferable to his, he only put in for the third part of the kingdom, upon the principle that his mother was joint heir with her two sisters.

It was soon perceived that the pretenders to the succession must be reduced, as they were, to two, Baliol and Bruce. The question of right between them, at first sight, evidently was, whether Baliol, who was fourth in descent by the eldest daughter, or Bruce, who was third in descent by the second daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, had the preferable title to the crown? Had the same laws and modes of succession which now prevail in Scotland prevailed at that time, there could have been no opposition to Baliol; but many considerations offer themselves in favour of Bruce, which obliges me to a retrospect.

The reader, from the complexion of the preceding history, must be sensible how averse the Scotch constitution was to a female succession to the crown. We are ignorant indeed, whether, when it was settled in the descending line, any reservation was made in favour of females inheriting in their own person; but I think there was not; because if such a constitution existed, there could have been no occasion for Alexander the third to have obtained an act of the states for his own daughter to succeed him. Such an act would, in that case, have not only been superfluous, but detrimental to Margaret's right. The Scotch historians themselves give us a strong reason to believe that female succession to the crown was not even a fundamental principle in that monarchy; for

mother, had the latter been alive, he only claiming through his mother. This difficulty is solved in a pretty extraordinary manner; for we are told that Dervegild resigned all her right to her son John Baliol. This, was there no other proof, must convince every intelligent reader that a previous compact had been entered into between Edward and Baliol.



it is certain, that the late Alexander had always looked upon Bruce as the heir to his crown, failing his own issue. Upon the most accurate investigation of this great dispute, there can be no room to doubt that if Scotland, as an independent kingdom, was to be governed by its own modes of succession, Bruce's title was preferable to that of Baliol.

This consideration seems to have determined Bruce, notwithstanding his former conduct, to the patriotic resolution of maintaining the independency of his country. Edward, who undoubtedly had now formed his plan of proceedings against that independency, could not, consistently with himself (if Scotland was a fief of England, as he afterwards pretended) suffer any other mode of succession to take place there, but such as was agreeable to the laws of England, which were in favour of Baliol. We are, however, to observe, what all the Scotch historians have omitted, that the feudal laws of England put it into Edward's breast, as superior, to have divided the land among all the three competitors, and to have given the capital honour to any of them he pleased.

Baliol, either through the mildness of his own temper, or conscious of the defect of his title, had, for some time, attached himself to Edward, and, with the bishop of St. Andrew's, had managed his affairs in Scotland. Bruce depended no more upon the justice, than the popularity of his claim, and upon its being connected with the independency of Scotland itself. Like Baliol, he had a large property in England, being possessed of the earldom of Cleveland; but he had little influence with the regency of Scotland; for there Baliol's and Edward's party prevailed, and was supported by the Cummings, who had the greatest natural interest of any name in Scotland. The anarchy of the nation rendered the exigency pressing, as there was a total stagnation of all public business; and it was evident, that if the decision was left to the claimants, the sword alone must be the empire. It was natural for the English party to propose to make Edward the arbiter of the dispute, not only as he was the most powerful of the neighbouring prince, but on account of his connections with the

late royal family. In what manner this proposition was introduced, does not appear from any authentic record. The Scotch historians say, that their parliament invited him to be the umpire; but, be that as it may, no sooner did he hear of the queen's death, that he ordered, as the bishop of St. Andrew's had advised, a body of troops to assemble at Norham, on the borders of the two kingdoms. The settling this fact, though it may appear indifferent, is of great importance to our history. If (as the Scotch historians say) their parliament invited him, by a solemn deputation, to be umpire, and if he accepted of the arbitration upon that invitation alone, his conduct was most unjustifiable. I am apt to believe, that a deputation was sent to him, for that purpose, by his own party in Scotland; but I meet with no authentic deed which proves the act to have been that of all the Scotch parliament. That it might be made by the regency, I am far from disputing; but I think the subsequent transactions prove that the parliament of Scotland was no party in the affair. According to the Scotch historians, the deputies sent with the offer of arbitration to Edward, who was then at Xaintonge in France, were the bishop of Brechin, the abbot of Jedburgh, and Sir Geoffrey Mowbray. When they attended Edward, he dissembled the satisfaction which the invitation gave him; and all the answer he made them was, that he would be in person, by such a day, at Norham, to which town he desired the nobility of Scotland would likewise repair.

I can see no reason for denominating the assembly of Norham, which accordingly met on the tenth of May, 1291, a parliament; nor is there any good authority for supposing the states of Scotland to have been there fully assembled. By what we learn from records, it was no more than a meeting of his nobility and others, to take their advice, and to be witnesses of the transaction. Henry the second of England did indeed summon a parliament, when he gave sentence in the cause between the kings of Arragon and Navarre; but his great-grandson, Edward, did not appear at Norham as an umpire, for he soon declared himself to be a party. Barban-

zon, chief-justice of England, was the speaker of the assembly; and at the first meeting he informed the members, " that his master was come thither, in consideration of the state of the realm of Scotland, which was then without a king, to meet them as direct sovereign of that kingdom, to do justice to the claimants of his crown, and to establish a solid tranquillity among his people : that it was not his intention to retard justice, nor to usurp the right of any body, or to infringe the liberties of the kingdom of Scotland, but to render to every one their due. And to the end this might be done with the more ease, he required the assent of the states of Scotland *ex abundanti*, and that they should own him as direct sovereign of the kingdom, offering, upon that condition, to make use of their counsels to do what justice demanded."

It is here necessary to inform the reader, that the journal from whence these particulars, and all relating to this dispute, are taken, has been printed by Mr. Rymer, and was written by one John de Cadam, who was employed by king Edward as a clerk for that purpose. It cannot, therefore be suspected of being over favourable towards the Scots ; and some writers, without questioning its authenticity, have impeached its impartiality.

The deputies from Scotland (for such they only were) were astonished at Brabanzon's declaration. They were properly answered, that they were not judges of Edward's claim of superiority, but that he previously ought to adjudge the cause between the two competitors, and require the homage of him whom he should pronounce to be king. On the 11th of May, the assembly was accordingly held in Norham church, where the deputies from Scotland insisted upon their giving no answer to the king of England's claim, which could be only decided by the whole community ; representing, at the same time, that numbers of Scotch noblemen and prelates were absent, and that they must have time to know their sense of the affair. This answer, which is taken from the journal, is a sufficient evidence that the states of Scotland were not assembled at this meeting ; and that those Scots who were pre-



sent did not think themselves empowered to enter upon any business but that contained in their instructions. Their representation, however, was so reasonable, that though Edward seemed to be persuaded that they were authorised to treat of his demand, yet he gave them a delay of three weeks (reckoning from the tenth of May) for taking the sense of their constituents.

From this management it sufficiently appears, that Edward had not been a little disappointed in his expectations from the promises of his party in Scotland; but, in order to soften matters a little, he declared he did not mean that the passing the Tweed by the Scots, at his request, should ever after be prejudicial to them or their realm. We meet with nothing in the Scotch history or records to inform us as to the proceeding of the deputies or parliament of Scotland, during this interval. From the representations given in by the Scotch agents at the court of Rome, the independent party in Scotland referred themselves intirely to Edward's own acts, previous to the intended marriage between his son and their queen, by which he promised, if there was no issue of the marriage, to leave the kingdom of Scotland absolutely free and independent.

Edward made use of the interval in multiplying the claimants to the crown of Scotland, and in flattering each with hopes, if he would acknowledge his superiority. He succeeded in both; and the assembly accordingly resumed its session the second of June following, safe-conducts have been sent to the Scotch nobility, dated the thirty-first of May. It is to be observed, that the place of meeting was at this time surrounded by a numerous English army, and that Edward had employed the bishop of Durham to draw up an historical deduction of his right, which has been since published; but its contents rest upon mere fiction and unsupported allegations, so that they are almost too despicable for a serious answer. Mention is made of the fealty and homage being performed, excepting the mere, and sometimes wild, assertions of Anglo-Saxon and Normannic authors, who transcribed from each other. As to

the homage performed by the kings of Scotland, from the time of the Norman invasion to that of the dispute between Bruce and Baliol, the Scots never denied it; but they confined it as being performed for the lands which they held from the crown of England; and they alledged, that it was far removed from any relation to a fealty or homage performed from the crown of Scotland, as those paid by the king of England to the crown of France, is removed from all relation to the crown of England. With regard to the homage paid by William king of Scotland to Henry the second, the Scots never contraverted its having been performed, for the crown of Scotland; but they pleaded, that it was void of itself, because it was extorted while William was a prisoner to Henry; and they produced Richard the first's charters, which pronounced it to have been compulsive and iniquitous. Those reasons, on the part of the Scots, were found so cogent, that the ablest and most candid of the English historians have acknowledged their force, and have agreed in leaving the crown of Scotland in possession of its independency.

The age of Edward the first, and the temper of that monarch, suited ill with critical examinations of his claims; and he availed himself of the divided state of Scotland to establish them. Having closeted the several pretenders, he found them all ready, and none more so than Bruce, to recognize his paramount power in Scotland; but he previously drew up the following charter of recognition, to be signed by them all.

“ To all who shall hear this present letter.

“ We Florence, earl of Holland; Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale; John Baliol, lord of Galloway; John Hastings, lord of Abergavenny; John Cummin, lord of Badenoch; Patric de Dunbar, earl of March; John Vescy, for his father, Nicholas Soules; and William de Ros, greeting in the Lord. Whereas we intend to pursue our right to the kingdom of Scotland, and to declare, challenge, and aver the same before him that hath most power, jurisdiction, and reason to try it. And the noble prince Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. having informed us, by good and

sufficient reasons; that to him belongs the sovereign seignory of the same: we therefore promise, that we will hold firm and stable his act; and that he shall enjoy the realm to whom it shall be adjudged before him. In witness whereof, we have set our seals to this writing, made and granted at Norham, the Tuesday after the Ascension in the year of grace 1291."

Edward then declared, by the mouth of his chancellor, that although in the dispute which was arisen between the several claimants, touching the succession of the kingdom of Scotland, that prince acted in quality of sovereign, in order to render justice to whomsoever it was due; yet he did not mean thereby to exclude himself from the hereditary right which he himself might have to that kingdom, which right he intended to assert and improve when he should think fit: and the king himself repeated this protestation with his own mouth in French. We learn, from the journal I have already mentioned, that the English chancellor, previous to the candidates signing the above charter of recognition, publicly called upon Robert de Bruce, to know whether he was willing to acknowledge Edward's claim of superiority over the crown of Scotland, and to submit to his award in disposing of the same; to which Bruce answered in the affirmative. The same question was put to the other candidates, and the same answer was returned by all, excepting Baliol, who was not present; but his attorney or agent undertook for his appearance the next day. He appeared accordingly, and made the same recognition as the others. From this circumstance, slight as it is, there is some reason to believe that Baliol was ashamed of the part he was acting; but he had not the courage to be the only candidate to oppose Edward.

Preliminaries being thus settled, the several claimants were admitted to prove their rights; but this was no more than matter of form. All the force of England was then assembled on the borders, and Edward was ready to support his claims by a resistless invasion. The states of Scotland saw the independency of their crown sacrificed by those who ought to have protected it, and they were obliged to give way to the torrent.



Nothing now remained but to furnish Edward with the actual means of giving his decision its due effect. He observed, that the Scots were not so unanimous as they ought to be, in recognizing his superiority; and that the submission which had been signed by the candidates was not sufficient to carry it into execution. He therefore demanded to be put into possession of all the forts in Scotland, that he might resign them to the successful candidate. Even this demand was complied with, upon certain conditions. The candidates, attended by some of the states, gave Edward possession of their forts; but Gilbert de Umfreville refused to deliver up those of Dundee and Forfar. He alledged, that he had been entrusted with them, not by the king, but the community of Scotland; and that he knew of no power in being who had a right to demand them. Umfreville, in this, undoubtedly spoke the sense of his countrymen in general, who considered all the concessions made to Edward by the candidates as being illegal and void. His plea, however, was over-ruled; but he insisted upon the candidates and regents, as well as Edward himself, indemnifying him from all penalties of treason, before he made the required surrender.

Notwithstanding all the arts and power of Edward, there is great reason to believe that he did not carry his point without strong opposition. We are told that the bishop of Glasgow, particularly, in one of the meetings, made a distinction between Edward's quality as umpire, which he was ready to acknowledge, and that of being lord paramount of Scotland, which, he said, was an unjust, absurd, and new-invented claim. We know not what effect this prelate's boldness produced, farther than that Edward grew very cautious in his proceeding. Though the decision lay in his own breast, yet he thought proper to proceed by commissioners; and he promised to grant letters-patent, declaring that sentence should be given in Scotland. It had been all along foreseen, that the great dispute would lie between Baliol and Bruce. Though the plea of Cumming was thought frivolous, yet he was a party of too much consideration to be entirely disregarded; and

he agreed tacitly to resign it in favour of Baliol. Edward accordingly made him the compliment of joining him with Baliol, in nominating forty commissioners. Bruce was to name forty more, and the names of the fourscore were to be given to Edward in three days; upon which he was to add to them twenty-four of his own nomination. Thus the whole board of commissioners, or, as they are called, tryers, was to consist of an hundred and four persons, whose names were given to Edward on the fifth of June. He left the place, and time of meeting, to their option. They unanimously pitched upon Berwick, because it lay within the confines of Scotland; but disagreeing as to the time, Edward fixed their meeting to the second of August following. On the eleventh of June, the regents of Scotland, who seem hitherto to have acted in consequence of their original appointment by the states, upon the death of Alexander the third, resigned their commissions to the king; but he returned them, with powers to act in his name; and he nominated the bishop of Caithness to be chancellor of Scotland, but joined with him in commission Walter de Hamondeham, an Englishman, one of his own secretaries. The twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of June were spent in the chancellor, the regents, the chief nobility, the magistrates, the governors of forts in Scotland, and other Scotchmen, taking any oath of allegiance to Edward.

When we consider the impetuous temper of that prince, it is easy to perceive, that this process did not go intirely to his mind. Many of his own great men, the earl of Gloucester particularly, were by no means fond of seeing his power, already too great, encreased by the acquisition of Scotland, at which they knew he ultimately aimed. He disliked the promise he had made for pronouncing sentence in Scotland, nor were the letters patent for that purpose made out till the twelfth of June, which was six days after the congress at Berwick was agreed on. He thought this was a matter of so much importance, that, after having buried his mother, who died in the intermediate time, he removed, together with the

commissioners, on the third of July, to Berwick, where he made a protestation, in which he declared, "That though he had granted that the affair of the succession should be tried in Scotland, yet he did not thereby intend to prejudice the right which he had in the like, or any other case, to exercise justice in England hereafter, touching affairs which might relate to Scotland." This protestation being made, we are told by the English historians, that Edward made a tour to the principal towns and cities in the south of Scotland, where he courted popularity among the inhabitants; and on the third of August he met the commissioners at Berwick.

By this time the candidates, chiefly through Edward's intrigues, amounted to twelve; and each presented to the board his petition, setting forth the grounds of his claim. The truth is, the pleas of most of the claimants are so false and frivolous, that they must have had unusual encouragement before they could venture to enter them. I shall not, therefore, repeat them, farther than putting the reader in mind, that the mother of Bruce, daughter to David, earl of Huntingdon, had a younger sister, Ada, who, as we have already seen, had been married to Henry, Hastings, an English nobleman, lord of Abergavenny. If the crown of Scotland, therefore, was a divisible fee, like that of England, Hastings might very plausibly urge that he was, in right of his mother, entitled to one third of the kingdom, as she ought to be joint-heiress with her two sisters. All the claimants having delivered in their respective pretensions, Edward alledged, that they were so various and perplexing, that there was a necessity for adjourning the farther consideration of the cause to the second of June, 1292.

This adjournment was necessary for Edward's views. He had not been yet able to fix the point he had at heart, which was, whether the question relating to Scotland was to be determined as those regarding the great fees in England? The better to smooth his way, and to give an irretrievable blow to the independency of Scotland, he issued a writ, declaring the two kingdoms, by virtue of his superiority, to be united.



The commissioners having met on the second of June, 1292, ambassadors from Norway presented themselves in the assembly, demanding that their master should be admitted into the number of the claimants, as father, and next heir to the late queen. This demand too was admitted by Edward, after the ambassadors had acknowledged his superiority over Scotland. The claims thus multiplying, Edward proposed that those of Bruce and Baliol should be previously examined, but without prejudice to those of the other competitors. This being agreed to, he ordered the commissioners to examine by what laws they ought to proceed in forming their report. The discussion of this question was attended with such difficulty, and the opinions upon it were so various, that Edward adjourned the assembly to the twelfth of October following, to give the members farther time to deliberate, and himself an opportunity of consulting foreign lawyers.

The assembly being held according to its prerogation, Edward, on the fourteenth of October, required the members to give their opinions on the two following points: First, By what laws and customs they ought to proceed to judgment; and supposing there could be no law or precedent found in the two kingdoms, in what manner? Secondly, Whether the kingdom of Scotland ought to be taken in the same view as all other fiefs, and to be awarded in the same manner as earldoms and baronies? The answer of the commissioners to the first was, That Edward ought to give justice conformable to the usage of the two kingdoms; but that if no certain laws or precedents could be found, he might, by the advice of his great men, enact a new law. In answer to the second question they said, That the succession to the kingdom might be awarded in the same manner as to other estates and baronies.

No sooner had the commissioners made their decisions on those points, than Edward ordered Baliol and Bruce to be called before him; and he demanded whether they had any thing farther to offer in support of their claims. Bruce urged the indivisibility of the crown of Scotland, and that it was not subject to the common law of inheritance established in

England. He proved, from the history of Scotland, that collaterals in the nearest degree had been commonly preferred to the crown; and he maintained, that standing as he did in the same degree as Dervegil did from the earl of Huntingdon, he was to be preferred to her, as being the male descendent. Baliol, on the other hand, insisted upon his mother's right of primogeniture, and appealed to what had been done by William Rufus, who placed Edgar on the throne of Scotland, and had dethroned Donald Bane, brother to Malcolm Canmore. Such, and many more, were the arguments urged by these two competitors, each to make good his claim. Edward, all this time, acted with the greatest seeming impartiality and caution; and at last he brought the question under the following heads: First, Whether the more remote by one degree in succession, coming from the eldest sister, ought, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, to exclude the nearer by one degree, coming from the second sister? Secondly, Or whether the nearer by one degree, descending from the second sister, ought, by the laws and customs of these kingdoms, to exclude the more remote by a degree, coming from the eldest sister?

Edward recommended the greatest deliberation to the commissioners before they returned their answer to the above questions. The process was again reviewed, and solemn debates were held; but at last, the commissioners pronounced, that, according to the laws and customs of both kingdoms, the descendants of the eldest daughter were to be preferred. This decision plainly gave the priority to Baliol; but Edward refused to pronounce sentence till the sixth of November following, when he gave it directly against Bruce. But though Bruce was thus excluded from the crown, the contest was far from being finished. Edward pretended, that the setting aside the claims of Bruce was far from establishing those of Baliol, till such time as the titles of the other competitors were discussed likewise; but the whole affair soon took a new turn.

Bruce, finding himself precluded from the sovereignty, in

the manner above expressed, declared that he had another plea to offer, which was, that Scotland ought not to be considered as an indivisible fee. Though this was directly in opposition to the arguments he had formerly urged, yet he certainly had a right to make use of it; nor is it very easy to conceive how Edward could evade it, but by supposing that he could not bring the commissioners to espouse that opinion. Bruce was supported in his plea by Hastings, whose pretensions, supposing the divisibility of the fee, were the same with his. Edward, to keep up his character of moderation and impartiality, ordered the commissioners to examine whether the kingdom of Scotland was a divisible fee: but their answer was in the negative; and the indivisibility of it was established accordingly. The commissioners found likewise, that the acquisitions made in that country by the king ceased, the moment they came into his hands, to be divisible. This peremptory opinion entirely cut off the claims of Bruce and Hastings; and those of the other competitors were so ill supported, that they were withdrawn by themselves. Cumming was not present at the time of this decision, and his claim was annulled likewise.

Baliol may be now said to be without a competitor; and Edward fixed the nineteenth of November, 1292, to pronounce final judgment in his favour. It was as follows: "The king of England, as superior and direct lord of Scotland, adjudged that the said John Baliol should recover and have seisin of that kingdom, with all its appurtenances, according to the form of his petition, upon condition that he should rightly and justly govern the people subject to him, that none might have occasion to complain for want of justice; nor the king, as superior lord of the kingdom, upon the suit of the parties, be hindered to interpose his authority and direction; a right which the king of England and his heirs always reserved in such cases, when he would make use of it." According to the English historians, the earl of Gloucester was so shocked with the proceedings and dissimulation of Edward, in the whole of this affair, that he could not stifle his



indignation, but exclaimed against him in a very bitter manner ; though I cannot see with what propriety, admitting the decision to have been conformable to the laws and succession of England. The Scots, on the other hand, have at all times endeavoured to invalidate the principle upon which the decision was founded ; for they tell, that that mode of succession was not then established in Scotland ; and they urge, with much better reason, that Edward was fundamentally wrong in all the proofs he brought of his supremacy over the kingdom of Scotland.

Edward accompanied his decision with some words, addressed to the new king, and importing, that if he did not behave well in the trust he had a superior to whom his people might apply. He then appointed the twentieth of November for Baliol's taking the oath of allegiance at Norham, and the twenty-sixth of December for his performing homage for the kingdom of Scotland at Newcastle. The English records take notice, that Edward's chamberlain could bring no precedent for ascertaining the fees he was to take of Baliol ; upon which they were fixed by Edward himself in parliament, at twenty pounds, which is double those that were paid by an earl. The writ of seisin which put Baliol into possession of the Scotch crown, was dated the nineteenth of November, and directed to William and Robert, bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow ; John Cumming ; James, high-steward of Scotland ; and Bryan Fitz-Allan, guardians of the realm.

The behaviour of Bruce, during this competition, has been differently represented. It is certain that he urged in his favour the repeated declarations of Alexander the third, that he intended to leave him his crown, if he should die without issue of his own ; but such representations can be supposed to have had no weight with Edward ; and Bruce being the first of the Scotch competitors who offered to sacrifice the independency of his country, we can have no high idea of his patriotism.

As to Baliol, he went directly to Scone, where he received the crown, and was recognized by all the nobility, excepting

Bruce, who was absent. He then returned to Newcastle, and performed his homage to Edward for the crown of Scotland in the most ample terms ; which Edward took care should be recorded by letters-patent, and properly attested \* by the greatest subjects of the two kingdoms. Baliol soon found that Edward's real design was to render him a cypher, and to engross even the executive power of his nominal kingdom. He saw that he had forfeited the hearts of his own subjects, even of those who had followed his example in his shameful submissions, and they durst not trust him ; yet he hoped to regain their confidence by a more spirited behaviour ; but he found himself mistaken. Edward reserved a power in his own breast, of explaining his paramount rights in what sense he pleased, and carrying them even into a claim of property. He renewed the distinction between his engagements as umpire, and his rights of superiority ; and that all his promises, relating to the former, were now ceased, while those of the latter remained in full force.

As being direct lord of Scotland, Edward had appointed certain officers of his own to reside there, and superintend his affairs. Some of them had injured one Roger Bartholomew, a burgess of Berwick, who complained to Edward of the behaviour of his officers ; and the king and nobility of Scotland resolved to make his complaint a common cause. Edward, as usual, referred the complaint of his judges, of whom Brabazon, the professed enemy of Scotland, was chief justice of the king's bench ; but with a peremptory order, that the matter should be determined according to the laws of England, which, in reality, superseded the operation of the laws of Scotland, where the facts complained of were committed. This reference being intimated to Baliol, he ordered the bi-

\* " My lord Edward, king of England, superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, I John de Baliol, king of Scotland, being your liegeman for the whole kingdom of Scotland, with its appurtenances, which kingdom I claim and hold, and of right ought to hold, for me and my heirs kings of Scotland, hereditarily of you and your heirs kings of England, and shall bear faith to you and your heirs kings of England, of life and limb, and terren honour, against all men that may live and die."

shop of St. Andrew's, the earl of Buchan, Patrick de Graham, Thomas Randolph, and others of his nobility to present a petition in his name to the English judges, complaining of their king's procedure, and setting forth his engagements to observe the laws and customs of Scotland, and that the pleas concerning things done there should not be drawn out of that realm; praying withal that Edward would observe his promises, and enjoin his officers to conform themselves to the same.

So tame a method of proceeding, as that by petition, was no favourable omen of success. He said, that Edward's officers were representatives of his own person, and that, therefore, the cognizance of every thing relating to their conduct, belonged only to him and his laws. Edward, in full parliament, justified Brabanzon's doctrine; declared that all the promises he had made with regard to Scotland, were to be considered only as temporary and determinable with the occasion; that they could not effect his rights of superiority and direct dominion, which entitled him (if he pleased) to judge of the complaints of all its inhabitants, of whatever nature they were. Soon after, Edward confirmed this declaration in his own council-chamber, before Baliol, and some of the chief nobility of both kingdoms, adding, that if he thought proper, he would oblige even the king of Scotland to answer in person at the bar of his tribunal. Baliol thought it neither proper nor safe to reply to Edward; but he had a more bitter draught still to swallow. Edward was not insensible that after the solemn promises and engagements he had made, his conduct would bear a very odious aspect even to his own subjects. He knew that the state to which he wanted to reduce Scotland, as a fee, was not warranted by the feudal law, either of England or France, where the holders of great fees never suffered causes, excepting in cases of forfeiture or the like, to be carried out of their own courts into those of their superiors. Even the dukes of Brittany, though a fee to Normandy, which was of itself a fee to the crown of France, did not suffer pleas to be carried out of their own courts; nor would Edward himself, as duke of Normandy, suffer a cause



belonging to his jurisdiction, to be moved to the courts of his paramount, the king of France. Edward was sensible of all this; but he continued to alledge, that the fourth preliminary treaty of the intended marriage between his son and the queen of Scotland, importing, that the laws and customs of Scotland should remain entire, and that pleas of things done there might not be drawn out of it, had it been made when there was a near prospect of the union of the two crowns by marriage; that upon the failure of that marriage, the direct dominion of Scotland reverted to Edward; that he was at liberty to use it as he pleased; and that all his posterior engagements had been fulfilled, and were determined. Upon the whole, he insisted upon John renouncing, by his letters patent, for himself and his successors, and all the promises, concessions, agreements, and ratifications made by Edward, as king of England, during the vacancy of the throne of Scotland; or, in other words, that he and his subjects should give him a full acquittance and discharge of all his former promises. John and his nobility found it in vain to contend, and the release was accordingly signed by them on the second of January 1293.

The triumph of Edward over the Scots was not yet complete, for he had not yet brought John to the bar of his tribunal to answer as a delinquent; but he was soon gratified even in that. One Mason, a Gascon merchant, claimed a debt of two thousand one hundred and ninety-seven pounds eight shillings sterling, that had been contracted by Alexander the third, and which Baliol had not paid. Edward laid hold of this complaint, (though we know not how far Baliol was obliged to pay Alexander the Third's debts) to send him a summons, dated March the first, for his appearance at Westminster, the day following. But a more important cause succeeded.

During the time of the interregnum, Edward, by virtue of the powers granted him by the competitors and regents of Scotland, had sent an order, commanding the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the other guardians, to restore to Macduff,

the young earl of Fife, certain lands of which he had been disseised by the regency. Macduff accordingly, during the time of Edward's progress in Scotland, re-entered into the possession of the lands. When the Scotch parliament met, Macduff's antagonists (according to Fordun) compelled him to appear before it; and Baliol was of opinion, that Macduff's proceeding had been irregular, as the dispute was only cognizable before himself and his courts. Some have said that Macduff, was even imprisoned, after being again stripped of his lands. It appears however, by records, that he brought a complaint before Edward, against the injustice done him by John. There is some reason for believing that Edward favoured Macduff, on purpose to have thorough satisfaction, as to the great point he aimed at. He ordered Baliol to be summoned by the sheriff of Northumberland, to appear before himself, in whatever part of England he might be, the day before Trinity. Baliol paid no regard to his summons; and another was issued, commanding him to appear at the parliament to be held at Westminster, fifteen days after Michaelmas. He had not the spirit to withstand this order, but took his seat in parliament, as king of Scotland. Macduff was present at the same time, and appeared as plaintiff; upon which Baliol was compelled to descend from his bench, and plead his own cause in court, as an ordinary party. In answer to the charge of contumacy against him, for not appearing to the first summons, he urged, that he was obliged to take the sense of his people in all matters relating to the kingdom of Scotland. Edward, who does not seem to have expected such an answer from Baliol, wanted to soothe him, and offered to give him more time; but Baliol still persisted in demurring to the jurisdiction of the court. Upon this he was pronounced to be contumacious; and it was adjudged that three of his castles, Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be sequestrated into Edward's hands, till he should return to his duty.

From the opposition made by Baliol on this occasion, it is probable, that he had promises of being supported; but every step he took was either unsafe or imprudent. He had put

himself into Edward's power; and after that he, in fact, retracted the concessions he had formerly made. He had not the resolution to persevere; for when Edward was about to have pronounced sentence, Baliol attended him in council, and petitioned for farther time, till he could consult with his nobles, promising to appear at the first English parliament held after Easter following. Edward, with the consent of Macduff, granted Baliol this indulgence; but the latter was at this time served with no fewer than eight summonses to appear before Edward, on the like pleas. We are told by Fordun, that Baliol at first desired to be heard by his attornies or counsel: but that favour was denied him by Edward, till such time as he should come to the bar and plead in person; to which he was obliged to submit.

After the indulgence granted to Baliol, he was to answer to the other complaints then depending against him. One was from a lady, who claimed the Isle of Man, in which Baliol had been invested by Edward; and meeting with a repulse, she appealed to Edward, who ordered Baliol to appear before him. The abbot of Reading claimed, by virtue of donation from David king of Scotland, the small island of May, which lies in the mouth of the Forth; and not receiving satisfaction, Baliol was in like manner summoned on that account.

Baliol must have been worse than insensible, had he not felt so many repeated injuries and affronts; but he had now forfeited all his credit in both nations; and his parliament of Scotland, before he left England, had chosen a regency of twelve noblemen for managing the public affairs during their king's absence. Though Baliol could not be pleased with this step, yet he departed abruptly out of England; and when he appeared in Scotland, gave vent to all the indignation he had conceived at his treatment from Edward; but he had still a resource by which he hoped to recover all the credit and interest he had lost.

Philip of Valois then filled the throne of France; and, for reasons foreign to this history, was on very bad terms with Edward. Though Baliol had consented to assist Edward vigorously



in his war with France ; yet Edward, during his whole reign, postponed all considerations that interfered with the prosecution of his claims upon Scotland. He again called upon Baliol to give in his answer to Macduff's complaints, in the parliament that was to meet at St. Edmund's-bury. Baliol, instead of appearing in person, sent the abbot of Aberbrothwick, with some other noblemen of his party, not only to give his reasons why he did not appear, but to demand satisfaction for the insults and injuries he and his subjects had received from those of Edward. The latter was not then in a situation to resent this proceeding as he inclined, and seemed willing to make some condescensions. He informed the deputies, that he was soon to visit the northern parts, and that their master should then have justice done him as to his complaints ; but, in the mean time, he peremptorily insisted upon his appearing before him in person at Newcastle upon Tyne, to answer Macduff's complaints, with the other matters that had been urged against him.

Baliol's declining to appear before Edward in person, was owing to the determination of his states, whom he consulted, and who were of opinion, that he ought not to submit to such an indignity ; neither could Edward charge him with any breach of faith, since all he promised was to consult his people ; and to obey the summonses, if they thought proper. His persevering in his refusal to appear, and continuing to insist on satisfaction, determined Edward to have recourse to arms ; but at the same time it gave Baliol some consideration in the eyes of his subjects. Edward's growing power had produced a confederacy against him upon the continent of Europe, at the head of which was Philip king of France, who had for some time held a private correspondence with Baliol, to know how far he was disposed to enter into measures against Edward. Baliol, though heartily exasperated, durst not publicly declare himself, till he was sure of being supported by his subjects ; but in the mean time, the confederacy against Edward went on prosperously. Among the other princes who entered into it was Eric king of Norway, who (if we are to

believe the French historians) received thirty thousand pounds sterling from Philip; and, by a treaty still in their chartularies, obliged himself to assist Philip with a hundred galleys, well manned, and fifty thousand land troops. This treaty, however, never was executed. Another party was the duke of Austria and the dauphin of Vienne; and so intent was Edward upon the affairs of Scotland, that he suffered himself to be stript of great part of his French possessions, even while he and his brother, the duke of Cornwall, were negotiating a definitive treaty, and were cajoled by the court of France. It must, however, be owned, that the insidious conduct of Philip was indefensible; and, when it came to be known, it raised a very high indignation among all Edward's English subjects, so that they resolved to support their sovereign to the utmost. An embargo was laid upon all the shipping in England; and Edward by a mandate required, in virtue of his paramount authority, that the same should be done in Scotland. Baliol, who was as yet in no condition to declare himself publicly, was obliged not only to agree to this shameful order, but to consent that three years rent of his great estate in England should be applied to carry on the war against France. By this last concession, it appears, that his English estate, though not forfeited, remained still sequestrated.

When Edward was ready to embark for France, at the head of a great army, he received undoubted intelligence of the private negotiation carrying on between Baliol and Philip de Valois. Upon this, he gave the command of his great army to his nephew the earl of Richmond, and remained in person in England to attend the motions of the Scots and the Welch, who, encouraged by the untowardly situation of his affairs abroad, were already in arms. Baliol had now regained so much credit with his subjects, that a French ambassador appeared in Scotland, and openly demanded the renewal of the antient leagues, between the two nations, and assistance against the king of England. Edward, at the same time, by his ambassador, as superior lord of Scotland, required aid a-

gainst the king of France. The respective demands of the embassadors were debated from the states of Scotland, and their determinations went in favour of France; or, in other words, they resolved to shake off the yoke of Edward. Plenipotentiaries were accordingly named to repair to the French court, and a commission for that purpose was made out at Stirling, the 5th of July 1295; to William, bishop of St. Andrew's; Matthew, bishop of Dunkeld; Sir John Soulis; and Sir Ingram Umfreville. Upon their arrival in France, a secret treaty, bearing date 25th of October following, was concluded between them and that king. The contents were as follow.

First, That Baliol's son Edward should marry the daughter of the king of France's brother, Charles de Valois, earl of Anjou.

Secondly, That Edward shall receive, with the same lady, the sum of twenty-five thousand livres, of Tournay currency: that he shall have a jointure of one thousand five hundred pounds sterling; one thousand pounds thereof to be yearly paid out of king John's lands, at Dampetre, Helicourt, and de Horney in France; and five hundred pounds out of those of Lanerk, Cadion, Cunningham, Haddington, and Castellan of Dundee in Scotland.

Thirdly, That Baliol, his heirs and successors, should assist the king of France, in the present war against the king of England, and all his confederates, particularly the emperor of Germany, both by sea and land; and that he should invade England, as often as the English should attack France.

Fourthly, That the stipulations of the present treaty should be solemnly ratified, by all the states and communities in Scotland, and transmitted to France.

Fifthly, That the king of France should reciprocally make a war of diversion upon the English, whenever they should invade Scotland; and, if required, send auxiliary troops to Scotland, at his own expence.

Sixthly, That as soon as Edward should head his army, or send it abroad, Baliol should, with all his force, enter England, take its towns, and destroy the country.



Seventhly, That neither party should make peace without consent of the other.

This treaty seems to been the foundation of the many ruinous connections into which the Scots afterwards entered with France. It is true, they had, upon occasions, acted in concert against England, but their engagements had not been so express and precise; nor does it appear, that, before this time, the Scots had ever laid it down as an invariable maxim in their politics, to follow the fate of France in all events. It was with a sensible displeasure that Edward received intelligence of those engagements; but he dissembled his resentment with wonderful art. He sent the abbotts of New Minster and Welbeck to acquaint Baliol of his having prorogued the meeting of his parliament, and of intention to repair to the northern counties; but to demand likewise, that as he had entered into war with France, the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, should be kept up into his hand during the continuance of the war. The Scotch and English historians are unanimous in saying, that this demand was not complied with; but a record published by Mr. Rymer gives some reason to believe that Baliol would have given them up, partly through fear, and partly through a scruple of conscience, on account of the oath he had taken to Edward, from which he was not yet absolved.

The last might have been the true motive for Baliol, at this time, resigning up to the states of Scotland the exercise of his power. We are told that they chose twelve guardians\*, and formed a seal for the community of Scotland; that Baliol himself consented to all this, and to ratify the late treaty with France. In this he was greatly assisted by Philip, who prevailed upon pope Celsine to absolve him from his oath of allegiance and fealty to Edward, which was no sooner done than he resolved to act without farther reserve.

Early in the year 1297, Edward marched northwards, at

\* The want of chronology and method in the Scotch historians leave it doubtful whether this was a new election of twelve new regents, or a re-establishment of the twelve who had been elected before.

the head of a numerous army ; and, on the first of March, he held his parliament at Newcastle upon Tyne. From thence he renewed his summons for Baliol to appear before him ; but he was answered by the almost unanimous voice of the Scots, that neither king nor they owed him farther allegiance ; and to shew that they were in earnest, they drove out of their country all Englishmen, ecclesiastics as well as laics, and appropriated their estates and effects for carrying on the war with England. A breach was now inevitable, and Edward marching to Bamborough, again summoned Baliol, by proclamation, to appear before him, but all in vain ; and a very singular incident first lighted the flames of a war, in which Scotland was almost consumed. The castle of Wark, in Northumberland, was then held by Robert de Ros, for Edward. This nobleman was a subject to Scotland likewise, and being desperately enamoured of a Scotch lady, he abandoned Edward, and joined with his enemies. Intelligence of his revolt was brought to Edward by his brother William de Ros, who undertook to secure the castle with a thousand men, whom Edward immediately granted him. On his march to the castle, he quartered at a place called Prestfen, where being surprized by his brother Robert, he and his party were cut off, and the Scots became masters of the castle. Edward pretended that he was more pleased with the Scots beginning hostilities, than he was sorry for the loss of the place, and he set out to recover it ; but in the mean time he received in a letter the following renunciation of Baliol's allegiance.

“ To the magnificent prince, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England ; John, by the same grace, king of Scotland.

“ Whereas you, and others of your kingdom, you not being ignorant, or having cause of ignorance, by your violent power, have notoriously and frequently done grievous and intolerable injuries, contempts, grievances, and strange damages against us, the liberties of our kingdom, and against God and justice ; citing us, at your pleasure upon every slight suggestion, out of our kingdom ; unduly vexing us ;

seizing our castles, lands, and possessions, in your kingdom; unjustly, and for no fault of ours, taking the goods of our subjects, as well as by sea as land, and carrying them into your kingdom; killing our merchants, and others of our kingdom; carrying away our subjects, and imprisoning them: For the reformation of which things, we sent our messengers to you, which remain not only unredressed, but there is every day an addition of worse things to them; for now you are come with a great army upon the borders, for the disinheriting us, and the inhabitants of our kingdom; and, proceeding, having inhumanly committed slaughter, burnings, and violent invasions, as well as by sea as land: We not being able to sustain the said injuries, grievances, and damages any longer, nor to remain in your fealty or homage, extorted by your violent oppression, we restore them to you, for ourself, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom, as well for the lands we hold of you in your kingdom, as for your pretended government over us."

Edward was presented with this renunciation by the hands of the intrepid Henry, abbot of Aberbrothwic; and he no sooner received it, than he broke out into an exclamation to the following purpose: "How foolishly does this stupid son of mine behave!" Well, the abbot had been persuaded by his enemies, of whom he had many in Scotland, to present this letter, in hopes that Edward would have put him to death; but he had address enough to escape safe out of his hands, without receiving any other answer.

Edward saw all the plan which he had laid down, for making Baliol his lieutenant in Scotland, with a royal title, vanish into smoke; and he had now no other resource for dividing the Scots among themselves, than to gain over Bruce and his interest. This Bruce was the son of the original competitor of that name, who was now dead, and earl of Carrick in his wife's right; and he had a son, the famous Robert Bruce, who afterwards proved the hero of his age and country, but was then no more than thirteen years of age. Edward sent for the elder Bruce, and offered him the crown of

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Scotland on the same terms that he had given it to Baliol. Bruce readily accepted the offer; and, with his young son, performed homage to Edward, as did the earl of March and Dunbar, and Umfreville earl of Angus. The elder Bruce was a great favourite with Edward, and he was prevailed upon to write to all his party in Scotland, to be ready to declare for the king of England. Mean time, the earls of Monteith, Athol, Strathern, and Mar, had raised an army of four thousand foot, and five hundred horse, most of them Highlanders; and marching through Annandale, destroyed the English border to the very suburbs of Carlisle, which they burnt, and then laid siege to the town itself. One of their spies had been taken and imprisoned within the place; and after he had set fire to the prison, he broke out of it, and running to the walls, called aloud to his countrymen to pursue their advantage. The flames had now alarmed the townsmen. Some of them ran to extinguish the fire, and others to repel the Scots, in which they were so vigorously assisted by the women, that the flames were got under, and the siege was raised.

Notwithstanding the late treaty between Scotland and France, Philip de Valois had made a truce with Edward, and left the Scots to bear all the burnt of his irresistible armaments by sea and land. Berwick was his great object; and the earl of Fife still remaining in England, Baliol had raised the inhabitants of that county; who, with the people of Lothian, formed the chief strength of the garrison of Berwick\*. The defence they made was very brave; for we are told that they burnt eighteen of the English ships, and put all their crews to the sword, in one assault which they made upon the town. Edward, who was as great as he was a politician, remov-

\* This nobleman was a descendant of the famous Macduff, the first earl. His elder brother, who had been one of the regency, had been killed in a dispute with the Abernethies, and Baliol not only protected but favoured them so far, that sentence was given against the earl; upon which he fled to England, and appealed to Edward. This account is strengthened by Fordun; but according to Sir Robert Sibbald, in his History of Fife (who seems to have been mistaken) this earl was the son of the last earl. Sir Robert tells us, at the same time, that he married his father's sister.

ed his lines to a considerable distance, and employed some of the Brucean party to inform their countrymen upon the walls, that Edward, despairing of taking the town, was resolved to raise the siege, especially as Baliol was advancing with a great army to the relief of the place. All this was believed by the besieged, who, in a day or two, saw a large detachment of the English army, habited like their countrymen, and carrying the ensigns of Scotland, approach their walls. The credulous garrison believed them to be Scots; and marching out to receive them, the English (or, as I rather suspect, the Scotch in the English army) getting between them and the walls, secured one of the gates, which had been thrown open. The main body of the English army immediately rushed in, and an indiscriminate carnage followed. English writers have, to the reproach of their own country, mounted the number slain on this occasion to sixteen thousand. Fordun himself admits of seven thousand five hundred; and he says, that the Fife nobility were, that day, almost exterminated. Edward's barbarity, even by the accounts most favourable to his memory, was inexcusable, for he spared neither age nor sex. Some English historians endeavour to palliate his barbarity, by pretending that the town was taken by storm; but the relations of the Scotch seem to be more authentic. Edward being master of the place, annexed it for ever to the realm of England, and drew round it a large palisaded ditch.

Whatever hitherto Edward's views might have been, he proceeded, after the taking of Berwick, as he had been determined to conquer Scotland, The castle of Berwick surrendered on the first of May, at which time a strong detachment of Edward's army had invested the castle of Dunbar. The earl of that title had, as we have already seen, submitted to Edward; but his wife, to make an atonement for her husband's defection from his duty, had put the castle into the hands of her countrymen. As Dunbar, next to Berwick, was the greatest bulwark of Scotland towards England, Baliol resolved to risk every thing to relieve it. A party of the Scots, under the earls of Cassilis and Montith, had just then returned, with great booty, from an irruption they had made into

Northumberland, and had joined the Scotch army under Baliol; but it was no way comparable, in point of discipline, to that of Edward, who still remained at Berwick, and had committed the conduct of the siege to the earls of Surry and Warwick. Those noblemen drew their army out of their trenches, and a bloody battle was fought in sight of the castle. The event was fatal to the Scots, who there lost ten thousand men (the English authors say twenty thousand;) upon which the castle of Dunbar was surrendered by its governor, Seward. It appears, from the best authorities, that Edward was not present in this battle; but a number of Scotch noblemen, particularly William earl of Ross, who had escaped out of the battle of Berwick, being found in the castle of Dunbar, they were delivered up (says Fordun) like sheep bleating, to be butchered by the king of England. From Dunbar the English army advanced to Roxburgh, the castle of which was held by the high-steward of Scotland, who capitulated, upon the lives, liberties, and estates of the garrison being safe, and himself recognizing Edward's paramount power.

The two severe blows which the Scots had received at Berwick and Dunbar, the reduction of those places, the submission of the great steward of Scotland, the defection of Bruce and his party, with Edward's other successes, rendered it more than probable, that he would have little difficulty in reducing the rest of that kingdom. He had appointed Englishmen to the government of the three castles he had taken; and all his steps indicated, that he was resolved to hold what he should conquer. Bruce, apprehensive of this, after the siege of Dunbar, put Edward in mind of his promise to make him king; but he was peevishly answered in French by that prince, "Have we nothing to do but win kingdoms for thee \*?" Bruce was too well acquainted with the character of Edward to press him farther; and, without shewing any resentment, he retired to his English estate, not daring to appear in Scotland. From Roxburgh Edward proceeded to E-

\* Ne auoms ren autres chose a fer, que avouse reany's ganter? Fordun!



edinburgh, and laid siege to its castle, which, by its situation, was then deemed to be impregnable; but the water of the garrison failing, it was abandoned by the Scots, and Edward took possession of it, after a siege of eight days, leaving the government of it to Walter de Huntercumb. The strong castle of Stirling shared the same fate, being likewise deserted by its garrison.

Baliol, by this time, had retired to the north of the Tay with the remains of his army, and Edward soon stript him of those of his mock-royalty, by reducing Perth, Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; after which he prepared to march against Baliol, who was then at Forfar. Cumming, lord of Strabolgy, though attached to Baliol, had always behaved so, that he stood fair with Edward, and Baliol now employed him to make his peace with that conqueror. According to Fordun, whose authority is equal to that of the English historians, who relate the transaction with a few trifling variations, Baliol and his son Edward had fled as far north as Aberdeen; and it is probable that Edward sent the bishop of Durham thither, to prescribe to him the terms of his pardon, with the manner in which he was to appear before his sovereign. These were mortifying to the last degree, but they were accepted of by the mean-spirited Baliol. Here he stript himself of all his regal ornaments, and being mounted upon a sorry nag, with a white rod in his hand, as one of Edward's sub-officers, he was carried to Montrose, (some say to Strickathroe) where Edward was; and in the open churchyard he acknowledged himself deeply penitent for the unlawful confederacies he had entered into with Philip king of France, which, in his own and his son Edward's name, and in that of the whole community of Scotland, he absolutely renounced, as being contrary to his oaths of homage and fealty to the crown of England.

This abject ceremony was publicly performed by Baliol in other places, and at last, the particulars of it were engrossed in an instrument signed by the bishops of Durham and Hereford, the earl of Buchan, Hugh de Spencer, and Cumming

the elder, earl of Badenoch and Strabolgy. All those mortifications were not sufficient to satisfy Edward. He dragged his captive at the wheels of his triumphal car round the country ; he commanded the great seal of Scotland to be broken, and that none should be used for Scotch affairs but that of England. At last, he ordered the following declaration to be drawn and signed by Baliol.

“ Whereas we, by evil and false counsel, and our simplicity, have greatly offended and provoked our lord Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain : to wit, being in his faith and homage, made an alliance with the French king, who then was and still is his enemy ; offering a marriage between our son and the daughter of his brother, the lord Charles ; and assisting him by war, and otherwise, with all our power ; and, by the evil counsel aforesaid, have defied our said lord the king of England, and put ourself out of his faith and homage ; and sent our people into England to burn, spoil, plunder, kill, and commit other mischiefs ; fortifying the kingdom of Scotland, which is his fee, against him ; putting garrisons into the towns, castles, and other places ; for which things and transgressions, our lord the king of England, having entered Scotland by force, conquered and taken it, notwithstanding all we could do against him, as in justice he might, as lord of the fee, seeing, after we had done homage to him, we rebelled against him : we, being still free, and in our own power, do hereby surrender to him all the land of Scotland, with the whole nation, and all its homages. In witness whereof we have put our seal to these our letters-patent, given at Kincardin, the second day of July, in the fourth year of our reign.”

Edward ordered several duplicates, as appears from its different dates, of this declaration to be engrossed and executed, that it might be the better promulgated. He then made a progress from Kincardin to Aberdeen, and from thence along the coast to Elgin and Murry ; which seem to have been the boundary of his progress northwards. It is more than proba-

ble that, during this tour, Edward first became acquainted with the true spirit of the ancient Scots, who valued themselves upon their independency, and upon the evidences they could produce to support it. Perhaps this passion might reach a little farther, and rise to enthusiasm, which is always dangerous to a conqueror. Hallowed relics, grown venerable from old traditions, have undoubtedly a prodigious effect on the minds of the vulgar; and the chief of those in Scotland was a stone, which served as the seat of a chair, in which their kings were inaugurated. The Scots were taught by their antiquaries to believe this stone to have been the pillow on which the patriarch Jacob slept at Padan-Aram; with many other fictions, equally improbable, but all tending to impress their minds with high notions of their antiquity and independency as a people. This chair was, with the crown and regalia, and some other national relics, sanctimoniously preserved at Scone; and it is certain, that two monkish lines had, long before that time, predicted, that wherever that stone was placed the Scots should reign \*.

Those, however, were but silent evidences of what the nation was fond of; others of a more speaking, a more convincing, nature, were extant; I mean, the written evidences of the Scotch history, a short general account of which belongs to this undertaking, and falls in with this interesting period.

The writings of Cumineus and Adamnanus, who were contemporary with the conquest of England by the Normans, and who mention several facts relating to the history of Scotland and that of the Picts, are undoubtedly authentic, and have ever been received as such by the learned; but the preservation of them probably was owing to their being lodged in the repositories of foreign countries, where the name of St. Margaret, whom Adamnanus has celebrated, is still venerable. Both those writers were abbots of Icolm-kill, the place of coronation and burial for the kings of Scotland, be-

\* Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum,  
Invenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.



fore their kingdom and that of the Picts were united. The sanctity attributed to this place, and its being the retreat of holy and learned men, rendered it the receptacle of the Scotch histories and records. Its situation, however, exposed it to the Danes, during the ninth and tenth centuries; and those barbarians, who were then masters at sea, ravaged it no fewer than six times; so that when St. Margaret came to the crown of Scotland, she found it demolished, and rebuilt it, as we learn from Odericus Vitalis, a contemporary writer \*. The frequent wars between the Scots and the Picts must have been likewise detrimental to literature, as each would endeavour to destroy the historical monuments of the other; nor must we forget, that the houses in Scotland being then built of wood, they were subject to conflagrations, no fewer than eight burghs being burnt down in the year 1244; and we may well imagine that the repositories of learning often suffered by the same calamity; for it would be difficult to prove that any of them were then built of stone. The disputes between England and Scotland must likewise have injured the records of both nations, especially towards the borders. To those conjectural proofs we may add some that are positive and cogent. A description of Scotland is still extant, the author of which most indisputably lived before the year 1195, because he was acquainted with Andrew, bishop of Caithness, who died in that year; as appears by the chronicle of Mailros, part of which is still extant. There is reason for believing that this author was the famous Giraldus Cambrensis, and consequently no Scotchman; but his performance, fanciful as it is, affords a pregnant proof, that both the Scots and Picts had records and histories, which, even in that remote time, were reckoned antient. "We read, says he, in the histories and old chronicles of the Britons, and in the antient accounts and annals of the Scots and Picts, that the country now corruptly called Scotland, was formerly called Albania."

\* Inter caetera bona, quae nobilis illa hera feceret, Huenſe monaſterium quod tempeſtate praeliorum & longa vetuſtate dirutam fuerat, fidelis regiſtra reaedificavit. Oderic. Vital. inter Scriptores Normanniac, p. 701, 702.

All the use I intend to make of this quotation is to prove the fact I have often advanced, of the Scots having many old records which are now lost; some of which, in the reign of Edward the first, were adduced as evidences of their independency.

Here I am carefully to distinguish between two periods of that prince's reign; the first, in the year 1291, when he was nominated by the Scots to be the umpire of their succession to the crown: the next is the time I now treat of, in 1296, when he was a professed enemy of that people and their independency. In the first period, he ordered all the public records of Scotland to be put into his hands, or those of his commissioners, that they might have all the light they could in the controversy. It is true, after he had decided it in favour of Balliol, he ordered them, as appears by a writ in Rymer's collections, to be restored to that prince. How far that order was complied with is a matter of doubt; for it is certain, that some of them remained ever after in the archives of England, from whence they were published by Mr. Rymer, in the reign of queen Anne; nor indeed can we reasonably suppose that he would have given back so flat a confutation of his own claim of superiority over Scotland, as is contained in the charter of Richard the first to king. William. The author of the preface to the chronicle of Coupar, who lived in, or near, Fordun's time, expressly says, "That Edward carried some of those records with him to England, and committed others to the flames." We are even told, that he ordered his English and French dominions to be carefully searched for all writings concerning the Scotch history. But if any doubt should still remain, as to the importance of the Scotch records carried off by Edward, an appeal might lie to the papers presented to the pope by Baldred Bisset, and the other Scotch commissioners, at this very time. We will very probably have occasion to mention those papers again, in the sequel of our history.

It is of importance for the reader to know, from Knyghton, that the search which Edward made, as umpire, for Scotch

records, went no higher than the reign of Kenneth the third. All that can be said in favour of Edward on this occasion is, that he did not destroy, as he safely might have done, the evidences of the independency of Scotland, for the originals are still remaining; but that he destroyed those of the antiquity, at least as many as he could lay hold of, seems to be past a doubt.—But now I return to the thread of my history.

The terror of Edward's arms made him imagine, that nothing was now wanting to the permanent subjection of Scotland, but his carrying off the records and monuments which we have already mentioned. Meeting with no opposition in his tour to Elgin, he returned to Scone, which he considered as the sanctuary of the Scotch monarchy; and there he began his destructive operations, by seizing upon their coronation chair, which had, even in those days, obtained the name of Fatal. The crown, the regalia, the royal jewels and plate, were seized at the same time, as was (if I mistake not) the diamond cross, which I have already mentioned to have belonged to Edgar Atheling; and all were sent off to England, where the fatal chair is still to be seen in the abbey of Westminster. After that he ordered all the nobility and freeholders of the kingdom to attend him at Berwick, where they renewed their homage and fealty in the following terms.

“ To all those that shall see or hear these letters, we [such and such there named] send greeting.

“ For that we agree to the faith and will of the most noble prince, our dear lord, Edward, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitain; we promise, for us and our heirs, upon the pain of body and estate, and whatsoever else we can incur, that we will assist and serve him well and loyally against all persons that may live and die, at all times when required or summoned by our lord the king of England, or his heirs. And we shall not know of any damage due to him or them, but we will hinder it to the utmost of our power, and will discover it to them. And for the performance of this, we bind us and our heirs, and all our goods; and further, have sworn upon the holy gospels. In



witness whereof, we have caused these letters patent to be made, and sealed with our seals. Given at Berwick upon Tweed, the 28th day of August, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our Lord the king of England."

This act was not performed by representatives, but by constitutions; for it appears by the rolls (called *Ragman* \*, which are still extant) that most of the freeholders in Scotland performed it; and from the amazing number of names contained in those deeds, there is the greatest reason to believe that Scotland was then more populous than it is at present. Some authors have been fond of maintaining, that all the free holders of the kingdom were parties in this submission, excepting William Douglas, the head of that noble family, who rather than comply with it, died a prisoner in England. I am far from being of that opinion; for I believe the love of independency was never so totally extinguished in that kingdom, as that many might not be found who would have given evidence for it with their blood, as will be proved by the sequel of this history. The outward appearance of submission, however, was so promising in favour of Edward, that he settled the government of Scotland, as if it had been a province of England. He appointed the earl of Surry to be his lieutenant there, Hugh de Cressingham his treasurer, and William Ormesby his justiciary.

Upon Edward's return to England, after those arrangements, the Scotch discovered symptoms of impatience under the yoke. Cressingham and Ormesby proved to be tyrants. The former was a priest, and the latter a lawyer, who prosecuted with the utmost severity all the Scots who refused to swear fealty to Edward. The natives of Scotland, at this time, may be considered as taking leave of their independency with a parting sigh, when a patriot hero stepped forth to re-unite them.

\* I suppose the word *Rag* is the abbreviated pronunciation for *Raguel* or royal.

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## C H A P. XV.

*The life and heroic achievements of Sir WILLIAM WALLACE, with the Scots affairs during that period.*

THE Scotch great champion, the renowned Sir WILLIAM WALLACE†, was the son, as some say, of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, and, as others affirm, of Sir Andrew Wallace of Cragie. The difference may be somewhat interesting to the two families, but it never can be so to the public, as Wallace could derive no lustre from them, however they might be ennobled by him. According to the best accounts, he was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, descended from an old family in Kyle; and thus he had the glory of owing his fame to no pre-eminence of fortune, but his own virtue and valour. The circumstances of his country sufficiently vindicated his conduct. Scotland was then without a king and without laws; at least she had none that a free-born Scotchman could recognize. Wallace seems to have considered himself as having no relation but to his country, and as being bound to no duty but to restore her independency. Robust, active, and brave, he connected himself with a few friends, who disdained the claims of England; and by a self-delegated authority, he and his party took every opportunity of destroying the English, as vermin that were preying on the vitals of their country. Frequent exploits of that kind soon rendered the name of Wallace conspicuous, and the spirit of liberty again reanimated the youth of Scotland. An illustrious confraternity was soon formed, consisting of the following persons; Malcolm earl of Lenox, lord William Douglas governor of Berwick, Sir John Graham,

† His true name was William Walays; and from the country where he was born, he appears to have been descended from the Welch, or antient Britons, who formed the Regnum Cambrense, or kingdom of Aereclude, and were called the Strath Clyde Welch, in the year 875. He is said to have left a daughter, who was married to Baillie of Hoprig, one of the ancestors of the Baillies of Lamington.

Sir Neil Campbel, Sir Christopher Seton, Sir John Ramsay, Sir Fergus Barchly, Andrew Murray, William Oliphant, Hugh Hay, Robert Boid, John Johnston, Adam Gordon, Robert Keith, Rainold Crawford, younger, Adam Wallace, Roger Kilpatrick, Simon Fraser, Alexander Fraser, James Crawford, Robert Lauder, Scrimzor, constable of Dundee, Alexander Auchinleck, Ruthven, Richard Lundie, William Crawford, Arthur Bisset, James Lindsay, Robert Lindsay, John Cleland, William Ker, Edward Little, Robert Rutherford, Thomas Haliday, John Tinton, Walter Newbigging, Jardan Barde, Guthrie, Adam Currie, Hugh Dundas, John Scot, Stephen Ireland, John Blair, Mr. Thomas Gray, and several other gentlemen, with their servants.

Those patriots, in undertaking the deliverance of Scotland, knew that if they were not successful, they must die the death of traitors; and that the exercise of humanity would not alleviate their punishment. They therefore gave no quarter to the enslavers of their country who resisted them; and their exploits soon roused the attention of their tyrants. The English garrisons were on all hands attacked and put to the sword; and, at last, Lanerk, a principal town of Clydesdale, was recovered from Edward, its governor being killed. The reputation of the Scotch arms was now revived under Wallace, who was deemed to be invincible from the great exploits he performed in his own person. He went to the northwards of the Frith of Forth, the ancient seat of the Scotch monarchy, where he found the inhabitants well affected to the cause of liberty; and there he recovered the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, with as much facility as Edward had taken them. The castle of Dunotter, which at that time was deemed to be impregnable from its situation, received a Scotch garrison; and the English despairing to hold Aberdeen, set it on flames at the time that Wallace entered it. It was then he heard that the English army was preparing to take possession of the pass of Stirling, which Wallace resolved to prevent. The rapidity of his victories, and the frequency of his exploits, have disordered the chrono-



logy of his history. There is even reason to believe, that many of his noblest actions were performed some years before his reputation found access to the history of his country.

The earl of Surry, the only man of virtue, or indeed of capacity, who had been appointed to the government of Scotland, was forced, on account of his health, to reside in England, while Cressingham and Ormesby were rendering themselves detestable by their oppressions. Edward was at that time in France, and far from suspecting an insurrection in Scotland. When he heard of it, he ordered the earl of Surry, his lieutenant there, to suppress it; but that nobleman's health not permitting him to take the field, he resigned his command to his nephew the lord Henry Percy. That young nobleman assembled a great army, said to consist of forty thousand men, and marched against Wallace, who had, by this time, returned to the western parts of Scotland \*. He found the Scots encamped at Irvine, with a lake in their front, and their flanks secured by entrenchments; so that they could not be attacked without great hazard; but the English were befriended by the dissensions of the Scots.

Wallace, a private gentleman, of little or no fortune, had gained reputation, and was on the point of acquiring power, which created a jealousy among his fellow-patriots. It was suggested, that an opposition to the English could be productive only of farther national destruction; and Lundie, a man of great rank in Wallace's army, perceiving that he could not be a general, resolved to be a slave; for he formed a party against Wallace, and they offered to submit to the English, on their being indemnified for all that had passed, and secured in their lives and estates. Wallace and his little band of free Scotch-

\* The exploits of this hero, Wallace, were so astonishing, that his historians, even those who were almost contemporary with him, have bewildered themselves in their relations. I have placed them in that order which is best warranted by the English historians, and seems to be the most probable. I am, however, not a little suspicious, that the campaign I am now recounting happened before he went northwards. As the facts are undoubted, a little disorder in the chronology is the less to be regarded.

men were so far from agreeing to those terms, that they sent an open defiance to Percy, and declared that they would never lay down their arms till their country was restored to her liberty and independency. They were so determinated in this resolution, that they attacked the rear of the English army, and plundered their baggage; but were obliged to retire with the loss of a thousand men. This check served only to re-animate Wallace and his friends, who were now deserted by almost all the men of property and eminence in their country; but their loss was amply supplied by that middling rank of people, who considered liberty as their most precious birth-right. It was then towards the end of autumn, and the earl of Surry had returned to Scotland, but was forced to order his army into winter-quarters. All seasons were alike to the brave Wallace and his friends, who took that opportunity to retaliate upon the partizans of England some part of the miseries which Scotland had suffered. The bishop of Glasgow's house was plundered, and the English writers have exclaimed against Wallace for his cruelties; yet it is certain, that during all the war he carried on against the enemies of his country, he neither put woman nor child to death, nor any other person who was not found in arms to oppose him.

The history of no country, perhaps, can exhibit such a scene as that of Scotland now presents. Her great noblemen, intimidated, over-awed, or corrupted, had lost all feeling for their country. Baliol, her mock king, had been sent by Edward, in chains, to remain a prisoner in the Tower of London. Bruce, more degenerated still than Baliol, who had made a spirited effort against Edward, lived upon his English estate, despised and unnoticed. The leading nobility were glad of an opportunity of safely tyrannising over their inferiors, through their absence from the seat of government; and many of the lowest rank of the Scots were indifferent under what master they served, as nothing could be more dismal than their feudal dependence. The Scots, therefore, very properly considered themselves as a people destitute of any bond of union with government, and that nature had given them a right to

provide for their self-preservation, without regard to any other consideration.

In 1297, the earl of Surry advanced towards Stirling, where the pass over the Forth was no better than a wooden bridge; but across it he saw the Scotch army, encamped in excellent order on the opposite bank, under Wallace. The histories and traditions of Scotland here mention a circumstance which, when we consider the times, is far from being improbable; for they tell us, that Wallace, foreseeing the English would pass the bridge to encounter him, had sawed the posts which supported it so artfully, that it gave way after the enemy had passed it. Lundie, the Scotch knight, who knew the abilities of Wallace, endeavoured to dissuade the earl of Surry from passing the bridge to attack him; but the treasurer, Cressingham, being of a different opinion, Sir Marmaduke Twenge, one of the boldest of the English officers, put himself at the head of the English army, and passed the bridge. We are told, that at this time the high-steward of Scotland, and Matthew earl of Lenox, had secretly joined the friends of liberty, and had formed a kind of an army of observation in the rear of the English troops.

Twenge passed the bridge with half the English army, and Wallace seemed to retire with some confusion. This encouraged the English, and they continued their pursuit; when a detachment of the Scots got between them and the bridge, just at the time when it gave way, under the crowds of English soldiers who were passing it. Wallace upon this faced about, and, with a heroic courage and magnanimity of soul, peculiar to himself, attacked with the greatest intrepidity, and defeated all his enemies who were to the northward of the bridge, while the great steward of Scotland, and the earl of Lenox, attacked and beat the earl of Surry, who with difficulty escaped to Berwick. Cressingham, though a clergyman, was killed in this encounter, and his body was found cased in armour. The Scots attributed to him great part of the miseries they suffered; but were befriended by his avarice, for he left the garrisons of Berwick and Roxburgh so destitute of all the means



of defence, that they fell immediately into the hands of Wallace, together with many other places south of Forth.

Edward was, at this time, in foreign parts, while Wallace reaped immortal glory, by being the deliverer of his country. We are not, however, with some writers to imagine, that all the Scots of those days were heroes and patriots. The greatest part of them, perhaps, were over-awed or corrupted by Edward; but the few who remained firm to the cause of liberty, not only supported themselves on the defensive, but, in the winter of the year 1207, they made several inroads into England, from whence they carried off a large booty. They even attacked Carlisle and Newcastle; but though they were repulsed from both, they never lost their spirits, and Wallace, at last, formed them into excellent troops. Particular mention is made, in our old historians, of his having carried fire and sword, for twenty-three days, through the northern counties of England. Sensible of the disadvantage he was under for want of a due subordination in his army, where every man was a volunteer, he formed a plan of a regulated militia, which had wonderful effects. His numbers were too few to suffer him to garrison the castles he took; and he therefore dismantled Roxburgh and other places in the South; but he put a garrison into Couper, which he took soon after the action at Stirling-bridge.

All the glorious exploits of Wallace could not preserve his countrymen from scarcity. Their perpetual wars with England had occasioned a total cessation of agriculture, and a famine then raged in the bowels of their country, which Wallace could relieve only by the corn and cattle which his followers carried off from England. An inroad made by the garrison of Carlisle into Annandale was the only check the Scots met with during that remarkable winter; and the loss of Wallace, in the whole campaign, was so trifling, that it is scarcely mentioned. Edward, who continued still abroad, hearing of the exploits of Wallace, gladly listened to the proposal made by the pope for a two years truce with the king of France, that he might return to gratify his ruling

passion of humbling the Scots. He had wrote, in the most earnest manner, for all his great subjects to join the earl of Surry against those rebels, as he affected to call them; and he ordered the prince his son to summon his military tenants to York, in January 1298. The meeting was very full; but the members demanded a confirmation of the liberties they were intitled to by Magna Charta, as the price of their services against the Scots. Edward granted all they required; and in the spring of the year an army of above an hundred thousand English was assembled, of whom above two thousand were horsemen, and completely cased in steel, which, in those days, was the privilege of barons and knights alone. All this happened while Edward was still abroad; but he gave a sanction to whatever was required, and ordered the earl of Surry not to proceed against Wallace, till he should arrive to head his own army in person.

The main body of the English army, under the earl of Surry, was then lying in the neighbourhood of Berwick, but their numbers were too great to be subsisted; and Edward, who was then upon his return to England with an army of veterans, ordered them to be disbanded, reserved twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, all of them choice troops. On the fourteenth of March he arrived in England, and lost no time in marching northwards to take upon him the command of his army.

By this time, the states of Scotland had chosen Wallace for their protector, under Baliol. There was, it is true, no precedent for such a step, but necessity warranted the measure. In a parliament which he convoked at Perth, he was confirmed in his authority; and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, was declared to be a traitor, for siding with the English. It is with some reluctance that I must acknowledge the envy and meanness of the Scotch nobility towards their brave protector, Wallace. Baliol being freed from his imprisonment in England, was then living upon his French estate; Bruce was the declared partizan of the English, and was daily endeavouring to form a party against Wallace. Cumming had the same ambitious views; so

that Wallace had no friends but those of liberty and independency. He bore up against all discouragements; and, the nobility failing him, he again found resources in the middling rank of his countrymen. It is here proper to observe, that, before Wallace was chosen protector, twelve guardians of the kingdom, all of them noblemen, had been elected at a parliament in Perth, and Wallace had been probably substituted in their places. Edward, in the mean time, was making vast preparations for another expedition into Scotland; and had, with little credit to his own reputation, not only extricated himself out of his French and Flemish wars, but had made all the concessions to his English subjects that the most turbulent of them could require, that he might meet with no obstruction in giving a final blow to the Scotch name and nation. His views, probably, were to deprive them even of that shadow of royalty in which he had indulged them, when he had appointed Baliol to be their king, and to cut off every Scotchman who should dare to resist him.

In this he was but too well seconded by the heads of the great Scotch families, Bruce, Cumming, and Stuart. The former still flattering himself, that Edward would pay some regard to his pretensions; and the two latter, though they did not side with the English, hated Wallace.

Edward, upon his last arrival in England, had made uncommon efforts to raise money for carrying on the war against Scotland, and writs of summonses were issued for a two-fold rendezvous; one of all the militia of the kingdom to meet the king at Carlisle on Whitsun-Eve; and another for a parliament to assemble at York. At the same time, he sent letters to Wallace, upbraiding him for the hostilities he had committed against England, which, he said, he durst not have attempted, had he (Edward) been in his own dominions. Wallace treated the messengers he sent with these letters (which more than probably contained offers of pardon) with great stateliness, and in his turn reproached Edward with his having taken advantage of the divisions of a free people to enslave them; and thus that negotiation ended.



England had never before seen so complete an army as that which Edward mustered before he entered upon this expedition to Scotland. It consisted of eighty thousand foot, three thousand horsemen, completely armed, and four thousand light-armed. This vast body was attended by a fleet to supply it with provisions (the erection of magazines being then unknown in Europe;) but the tempestuousness of the weather, and the crossness of the winds, put Edward under vast difficulties. Besides this army, he had detached bodies in Scotland. The earl of Pembroke was defeated in Fife, with the loss of about fifteen hundred men; and Sir John Withrington was cut off with another separate body near Perth. The Galloway men, among or near whom the great estates of Bruce and Baliol lay, were not only influenced by those chiefs, but still retained ideas of their former independency (the loss of which they attributed to the Scots) had joined Edward's generals, to whom they had been very instrumental in preserving their footing in Scotland. According to the Scots, the two last-mentioned defeats were owing to Wallace, who knowing the difficulties of Edward for want of subsistence, encamped in the front of his army at Stanmore with so martial an appearance, that Edward did not think proper to advance; which is the more probable, as he had as yet drawn no benefit from his fleet. When he came to a place called Templeton, he received some supplies from his ships, which determined him to march through a cultivated country to Falkirk, where he knew his enemies would make their great stand.

The nearer the Scots were to destruction, the more they courted it, by the animosities which were hourly prevailing among their leaders. It unfortunately happened, that the feudal law gave each chief a kind of an independent command over his followers. Bruce, as we have already seen, had joined Edward; and Cumming and Stuart, while the English were advancing to attack them, were disputing with Wallace about the post of honour; but we are not certain in what manner the difference was ended. All that we know is, that

it was not decreed to Cumming. It is allowed, on all hands, that the Scotch army did not exceed thirty thousand men, while that of Edward consisted of forty thousand of his best troops, and that Wallace made an excellent disposition. He drew up his men in three divisions, so as that they could not be outflanked by the enemy, with his horse in the rear, and the front ranks intermixed with archers. The army under Edward was commanded by Bohun earl of Hereford, high-constable in England, Bigod, earl-marshal, and the earl of Lincoln. Edward had intelligence of the altercations among the Scotch leaders; and scarcely were they ended (if they ended at all) when he gave signal for the charge. This was answered by a shout from the Scots, so terrible, that it frightened Edward's horse; and falling to the ground, two of his ribs were broken. He dissembled his anguish, and ordered his Welch soldiers to begin the attack; but they disliked the service, and Edward, forgetting his pain, put himself on foot at the head of a battalion, who plucked up the the palisades with which the Scots had guarded their front, and broke in upon them with irresistible fury. Wallace had just time to make a very short speech to his soldiers: "There, said he, is Edward, run if you dare;" but he had scarcely spoken, when he had the mortification to see Cumming, with his division, which was the strongest of the army, quit the field without a stroke, and leave the brigade under Stuart to be cut in pieces with their gallant leader. Notwithstanding these disasters, Wallace kept his ground with amazing intrepidity, till Bruce and his followers, making a circuit round a hill, attacked him in the rear, and obliged him to retreat, which he did in good order and with a considerable body under his command, towards the river Carron, which he passed.

This battle was fought on the twenty-second of July 1298, and the loss of the Scots could not fall short of ten thousand men, though by English writers it is mounted to a far greater number. The chief among the Scots who fell were Macduff, earl of Fife, and John de Graham, a man so brave that he may be styled the right hand of Wallace. The loss of the English was

too inconsiderable to be mentioned, none among them of note being killed but the great master of the Templars. It appears that Bruce continued his pursuit of Wallace; but that both the leaders agreed to a private parley on the banks of the Carron, by which they were separated. Bruce reproached the other with madness for taking arms against so powerful a king as Edward, and insinuated that Wallace himself had view upon the crown. The answer of Wallace was that of a hero and a patriot. He warmly disclaimed having any ambitious thoughts, which he said he had neither right nor an inclination to entertain; but put Bruce in mind of his degeneracy and his indolence in not supporting his high-born claim to the crown. "To you (said he) the miseries of your country are owing. You left her overwhelmed with woes, and I undertook the cause which you betrayed; a cause which I shall espouse as long as I breathe, while you live with ignominy, and court the chains of a foreign tyrant." Such was the substance of a declaration as spirited and virtuous, perhaps, as any that history can produce. The words of Wallace sunk deep into the mind of Bruce, and afterwards were attended by the noblest effects. It is thought that they opened his eyes, but concurred with his reflections upon his own conduct to shorten his life, though not before he had animated his son with the spirit of the brave knight. That Bruce died soon after this battle is beyond doubt; and the historians who lived nearest those time agree, that his death was owing to remorse and grief for his past meanness.

The situation of Wallace after the battle of Falkirk was singular, and his behaviour in it more than justifies the warmest praises which the free and the brave of all countries, as well as Scotland, have poured upon his memory. His patriotism was proof against all the ingratitude and insolence he had encountered; and his own greatness can scarcely be said to have a place in his thoughts, so entirely were they devoted to the service of his country. Without repining, he heard that the states of Scotland intended to raise his capital enemy, John Cumming, earl of Buchan, to the protectorate. This made



no impression upon Wallace, who by this time was resolved to take the first opportunity of resigning that invidious distinction. Having collected all the remains of the Scotch army after its defeat at Falkirk, he was in a condition once more to take the field; and after burning the town of Stirling, he crossed the Forth, and entrenched himself at Perth, waiting for the approach of the victorious English. Their historians have in vain endeavoured to throw a veil over Edward's history at this period, for it is certain Wallace stoppt the progress of the English monarch, irresistible as he appeared.

Some of the Scotch historians, with unpardonable malevolence \*, have said, that immediately before the battle of Falkirk, an altercation happened between Stuart and Wallace, the latter withdrew his division, and suffered Stuart and his troops to be cut in pieces. The subsequent conduct of Wallace is an effectual refutation of this calumny. The sons of freedom continued to flock to his standards, and scarcely an hour passed in which he did not attack and defeat straggling parties of the English army. The truth is, Edward's desire to subdue Scotland, and his unmanly resentment against its inhabitants, led him into errors that were unpardonable in so great a general. He had advanced with a great army into an exhausted impoverished country, which obliged him to have his quarters and posts at considerable distances from each other. He had depended upon precarious supplies from his fleet; but they had failed him through the tempestuousness of the weather. Wallace was sensible of his situation, and availed himself of it with such success, that Edward, in the career of all his victories, was forced to come to the resolution of returning to England. Previous to this, he proceeded against his Scotch prisoners, and all who declaimed his authority, with unrelenting cruelty; for, performing homage or suffering death, was all the option he left to the wretched inhabitants. When he began his march southwards, Wallace and his friends hovered on his rear, and made severe reprisals

\* Mackenzie's lives of the Scotch Writers, vol. I. p. 157.

upon numbers of the English who fell into their hands ; so that Edward was forced, in order to regain Carlisle, to strike through the inhospitable forest of Selkirk.

There is the greatest reason to believe that Wallace, while he was performing those noble exploits, had no other character than that of a volunteer in the service of his country ; for it was agreed on by all historians, that he had before that time resigned the protectorship, in an assembly of the nobles. We are therefore now to behold him in the light of a private individual, at the head of a body of friends, whom his virtue had formed, and his courage had animated, for the deliverance of their country ; or, in other words, Wallace was an illustrious rebel to the cause of slavery. Cumming appears to have been now the legal governor of Scotland under Baliol, but the part he acted was spiritless and pusillanimous. He pretended to hold his authority from the states ; but he did nothing to assist their independency, though a favourable opportunity then presented, by the differences which had broken out a fresh between Edward and his English nobility. The wisest measure which Cumming pursued, was his applying first to Philip de Valois, the king of France, and then to pope Boniface the VIIIth, for a truce in favour of Scotland. Edward's affairs on the continent of Europe, at that time, were in a very indifferent situation ; and though Baliol was still his prisoner, yet the court of Rome treated him as a sovereign independent prince.

This was far from being agreeable to Edward, as it struck at his claim of superiority over Scotland ; and the respect with which Philip acted towards Baliol gave him still greater disquiet. He had, partly through the disaffection that continued to reign among his nobility, and partly to be at hand to curb the Scots, passed the winter of the year 1298, in the north of England ; and at Durham he called a great council of his nobility, in which he gave away to his own party, the estates of the principal Scotchmen who followed either Cumming or Wallace. But, according to Buchanan, though he had, at the intercession of Philip, consented to a truce of

seven months, yet he imprisoned the Scotch ambassadors as they were proceeding to the pope's court. The Scots seem to have considered Edward's agreeing to a truce as arising from the necessity of his own affairs; and, without regarding it, they resumed their arms, with a greater shew of resolution than before. We are to observe, that they were divided, at this time, into three classes; those who persevered in their allegiance to Edward; those who looked upon Baliol as their king, and Cumming as his substitute or lieutenant; and those under Wallace, who renounced all connections with, or dependence upon, England, and acted singly for the liberties of his country. The two latter classes differed in principle, but agreed in measures; for they joined in expelling the English out of Scotland. But before I proceed, it is necessary, from the public records, to clear up the case of Baliol, which cannot be done without some intermixture of foreign affairs.

The treaty of truce which had been negotiated between Philip and Edward, under the mediation of Boniface, not as pope, but as Benedict of Gaeta, a private person, had never been carried into private execution, being disagreeable to both parties. The eighth article of this treaty, which was dated at Rome the twentieth of June, 1298, imported, "That all the lands, vassals, and goods, which the king of France was then possessed of, that were the king of England's before the war, and those the king of England was then possessed of, should be put into the hands and possession of the pope, and so remain till the kings themselves agreed about them, or he should order what was therein to be done, without prejudice to the lands, vassals, and good of either of the kings, as to the possession, detention, or property of them."

This article gave Philip a pretext to alledge, that Baliol, as a vassal of the crown of France, ought to be delivered in to the pope's hands. This demand was disputed by Edward, as being contrary to the spirit of the treaty, which regarded only the prisoners made in Gascony. Though Edward was well founded in this objection, yet such was the situation of his



affairs both at home and abroad, that he agreed to give his holiness entire satisfaction on that, and all other heads of the treaty; and he sent orders to Robert de Burghersh, his constable of Dover, to carry over to France his prisoner, John, Baliol, and to put him into the hands of the bishop of Vincenza, the pope's agent there. Baliol had, before this time, in an instrument under his hand, disclaimed all property in the crown of Scotland, the people of which (as he alledged) had endeavoured to take him off by poison; and on account of the malice, treachery, and deceit of that nation. The bishop of Vincenza went to Monstreuil, where the English and French ambassadors appeared before him, to carry the treaty into execution. There is the greatest reason to believe, that Baliol had been forced by his jailors to the renunciations he had agreed to; and that, finding he was to fall into the hands of the pope, he had ordered his agents at the court of Rome to acknowledge the kingdom of Scotland as a fief of the holy see; and that they did so is past all contradiction, from the records that have been published. But this very submission never can affect the independency of Scotland, because Baliol had already disabled himself from performing any regal or political act, by his renouncing all relation to the crown. Even if that had not been the case, and though he had been without a competitor, yet his subjecting the independency of his crown and people to Edward was, according to the principles of liberty, and those which the independent part of the people of Scotland at this time avowed, a sufficient reason for his forfeiting his right, even if he had not renounced it.

Edward either was informed of, or suspected, John's shameful submission; and when the ambassadors met at Whitland, to deliver Baliol into the hand of the bishop of Vincenza, on the twentieth of July, the English ambassadors presented, on the part of Edward, an instrument, in which he declared, that the pope might direct and act what he pleased with respect to Baliol's person and private estates; but with a salvo to all the rights which he (Edward) and his heirs might

have upon the kingdom of Scotland. Not only the renunciation made by Baliol, but his having taken arms, and rebelled against his sovereign the king of England, formed the basis of this salvo; and Baliol was accordingly delivered up into the bishop's hands.

The unanimity of the Scots, in recovering their liberty, had been so successful, that the English had then been driven out of all the chief strong holds of Scotland, except Edinburgh, Stirling, and Berwick. It is to be regretted, that we now know little of Wallace, but that he was alive and at liberty. I am inclined to believe that, about this time, he went over to France; and in this I am countenanced by old writers almost contemporary with himself. He perhaps thought, that he could do his country more effectual service by carrying arms against Edward in Gascony, than if he had remained in Scotland, where the regent and the leading men were jealous of his glory and influence. We are ignorant whether he carried arms in France in any other character than that of a volunteer; but historians inform us, that he was treated by Philip with the greatest respect and honour.

His place was nobly supplied, in the service of his country by a nobleman of the name of Frazer, who acted as lieutenant-general to Cumming the regent, while Edward, as usual, suspended all his great concerns, both of war and peace, to gratify his vengeance against the Scots. Under pretence of making good all the grants he had lately made of their estates, (which he could not do without carrying his arms once more into that country) he summoned the militia of all England to meet him at Carlisle, on Whitsunday, 1299; but the conferences at Monstreuil then depending, he adjourned the meeting to the first of August following. In the intermediate time, he assembled his parliament at Westminster, and ordered public prayers to be put up in all the churches of England for a blessing on his arms against the Scots; and he practised all the arts of popularity, some of them even below the dignity of a king, to conciliate the confidence and affections of his subjects, which he had endangered by his despotic, over-

bearing, conduct. One of the provisions settled by the conferences at Modstreuil, was a marriage concluded between Edward and Margaret, sister to the king of France; and the bride being every day expected in England (where she landed on the twelfth of August) it is probable that Edward did not attend the assembly of his militia at Carlisle on the first of the same month. At the same conferences, it was agreed, that Edward prince of Wales (as we may venture to call him) should marry Isabella, daughter to Philip de Valois. Those incidents, but, above all, the returning discontents of Edward's barons, gave the Scots an opportunity of besieging the castle of Stirling. After Edward's nuptials were over, he ordered a parliament to meet on the eleventh of November; and upon its rising, late as it was in the year, he put himself at the head of his army, and set out on his march to Scotland, to raise the siege of Stirling. Nothing but blind rage could have impelled Edward to such an attempt at that season. Experience had taught him how precarious his dependence was upon his fleet for provisions. The country through which he was to march was a desert, the roads impassable, and his enemies flushed with success, and united by oppression. He every day saw his troops decrease in their numbers, by his great men withdrawing their followers from the expedition, till at last he became apprehensive of a total defection from his standards. At length he perceived the madness of his undertaking; but, in the mean time, he received a letter from the regent, Cumming, the bishop of St. Andrew's, and young Bruce, earl of Carrick, acquainting him, "That, by letters both from the ever illustrious Philip king of France, and from John duke of Britany, his ambassador in England, they were informed, that king Edward had agreed to a cessation of arms for some time; and that, if he pleased to let them know so much, by letters under his own hand and seal, they are, on their part, willing to forbear hostilities till the truce shall expire."

This letter is full of proof that the king of France, notwithstanding Baliol's submission, considered the Scots, under



the regent, not only as an independent people, but as his allies. We may suppose that Edward paid no regard to this letter, on account of the Scots having driven his subjects out of their country; but he had the mortification of finding himself, from the causes already mentioned, disabled to proceed, and forced to sign an order for the governor of Stirling to give up that castle, upon no better terms than those of safety for himself and his garrison. Edward was then at Berwick, where he kept his Christmas. Fordun mentions a fact which throws great lights upon the Scottish history at this time, though omitted by other writers. He informs us, that when Wallace resigned the regency, and while Baliol was permitted to live upon his own estate in France, he appointed John de Soulis joint regent with Cumming. Thus we are to consider Scotland as under two regents, one chose by the states, and the other appointed by Baliol. The same author informs us, that Soulis, without the participation of the other regents, by the advice of the prelates and other noblemen of Scotland, sent William archdeacon of Lothian, Master Baldred Bisset, and master William Eglisname, to be his special procurators and agents at the court of Rome. This information sufficiently accounts for the concessions upon which his holiness founded his claim of superiority over Scotland.

It was probably after their arrival there, that his holiness issued the very remarkable bull, the substance of which the reader will find in the notes †. The claim there expressed,

† "That the kingdom of Scotland never was, nor is, a fee of England: That this both Henry the third has owned; his father, because, by his letters-patents, he testified that he had received auxiliary troops from his son-in-law, Alexander the third, king of Scotland, not as an assistance any way due to him, but as a special favour; himself, because, when he entreated the same king Alexander to be present at his coronation, he declared also, by his letters, that he asked it as a special favour, to which king Alexander was no ways obliged: That when the king of the Scots did the usual homage to him for his English possessions of Tyndale and Penrith, he publicly protested, That as king of Scotland he was independent, and that he held his crown of God alone; to which king Edward himself did agree: That when king Alexander dies, leaving a grand-child only behind him, as heirs of the crown, king Edward did solicit a marriage between her and his own son, prince Edward, by all methods imaginable; whereas,

of the pope's superiority over the kingdom of Scotland, tho' ridiculous and groundless in itself, and though confuted by almost every sentence of the bull that contains it, was not near so dangerous or derogatory as the claim of Edward.

had he been liege-lord of Scotland, he had had the wardship of the young lady, and might have given her in marriage to whom he pleased; but that, on the contrary, there were guardians of the kingdom at that time, though not appointed, yet owed, by him: That with these guardians the nobility of Scotland had chosen, he had treated concerning the marriage: that, by the contract agreed to, it was expressly provided, that if there happened to be no children of that marriage, the kingdom of Scotland should return to the next heirs, free and independent, as it had ever been; and that if children were procreated, yet that Scotland should remain separate and distinct from England, should retain the name and dignity of a kingdom as before, and be governed by its own laws, have its own officers of state, have its independ and free parliament; and that no causes concerning Scotch affairs should be decided but within the bounds of Scotland, and none of its inhabitants be obliged to go elsewhere for judgment: That the queen of Scots being dead, and the controversy arising among the nobility about the succession, the greatest part were willing that the king of England should be arbitrator; and accordingly invited him to the borders, whither he came with an army to support his faction; but that they would not go over the limits of their own country, nor appear in his presence, till he first assured them, by his letters-patents, that they were not required to do the same as being a duty, but out of a favour; and that the liberties of the kingdom should suffer no prejudice thereby, nor should their compliance be a precedent for after-times: That, notwithstanding these securities, some innovations had afterwards been made and assented to by one, in whose favour he had pronounced an unjust sentence: yet all those things were extorted by violence and fear, which may befall a constant man; and therefore ought not to subsist in law, nor to redound to the prejudice of the kingdom: that when legates were sent into England by the apostolic see, to exercise their functions, they could not, upon that pretext, proceed to do the same in Scotland; neither was there ever a legate admitted, or ought to be admitted, into that kingdom, unless he brought special letters from the pope to the king of Scotland; which had been needless, if Scotland had been a see of England, or the king of Scots subject to the kings of England: that the church of Scotland had ever been, as the kingdom, independent of any but the see of Rome; and that, when the archbishop of York had, in his predecessor's time, pretend to a superiority over the clergy of Scotland, he could produce nothing to make good his plea, but a letter from some Scotch bishops, who had passed this compliment upon him, "Remember that we are yours." In fine, the pope absolutely condemns the design of the king of England to subdue Scotland, especially at a time when it wanted a head; and admonishes him sharply to withdraw his arms from thence, and to leave the Scots to their own liberties and laws: adding withal, "That if he had any equitable plea to alledges for himself, he should appear before him, by his ambassadors, within six months; and that he would take care to do justice to both parties." Rymcr, Tom. II, fol. 859, &c.

will venture to say, that there was not a crowned head then in Europe (the kings of Scotland excepted) who had not more than once subjected himself to this pretended superiority; but, to say the truth, the bull itself is worded in a manner that leaves it doubtful whether the claim is extended to temporalities, or confined to spirituals alone. Be that as it may, the matter never can effect the independency of Scotland.

While Edward was at Berwick, he appointed John de St. John, one of the bravest and most experienced of his officers, to be his head commissioner for the government of Scotland; and returning to London about the beginning of February, 1300, he there not only confirmed the great charter of the English liberties, but offered to encrease them, if his nobility thought they were defective. All this was to soothe them into the measures he was carrying on against Scotland. After the tenth of May he set out for the north, and ordered his military tenants to attend him at York on Midsummer-day. Towards the end of June, he entered Scotland with a great army, which the regent durst not face, took the castles of Lockmaben and Caerlaverock in Annandale, and continued his march into Galloway, where his party was again revived, and where he put all to the sword who resisted him.

While Edward was in this career of success, he gave audience to the bishop of Galloway, and the heads of the Cumming family, who came to him with proposals of peace. These were, that the Scots should live under Baliol as their king; that all grants made by Edward of Scotch estates should be annulled, and that they should revert to the first owners; and that Baliol and his family should be re-settled in Scotland. While the Cummings were delivering these terms (which undoubtedly had been dictated by the court of Rome) some mention was made of the interposition of the papal authority, if they were not complied with. This intimation drew an indignant smile from Edward. "Am I (says he,) to whom you have sworn as the superior lord of Scotland, to be terrified by pretences? Have I not power sufficient to govern my own right? If I hear more of this, by all that is holy, I will lay



Scotland waste, with fire and sword, from sea to sea!" Notwithstanding this tremendous menace, the Cummings (who are said to have been the earl of Buchan and the lord of Badenoch) answered with an undaunted air, "That they were resolved to shed the last drop of their blood in the defence of their country;" and then they took their leave of the monarch.

This interview seems to have been brought about by Edward's friends in Galloway; and proving ineffectual, it put an end to all farther negotiation. Edward, advancing to a river which historians call Swyney, discovered the Scotch army on the opposite banks. He sent a body of archers (the most formidable troops then in Europe) to dislodge them; and the Scots, unable to stand the terrible discharge of arrows, retired; but Edward, fearing that they were drawing his men into an ambush, dispatched the earl of Warwick to stop the pursuit. The archers perceiving the earl advance, attended with some troops, imagining he was coming to support them, followed the Scots, and made a halt, so that the battle became general. This being perceived by Edward, he sent his son, the prince of Wales, at the head of his shining battalion (as he used to call it, by way of preference to all his other troops) to support the earl and his archers, while he himself advanced with the main body of the army. The Scots, who had not intended to stand a general engagement, were unable to stand the shock, and retiring to their woods and fastnesses, their loss of men was not considerable. It is remarkable, that in this engagement the Welch again refused to act against the Scots, or at least to pursue them. The English historian Walsingham says, that the fate of Scotland would have been decided that day, had the pursuit been continued.

The advantage gained by Edward was, however, of the greatest importance in his favour, as nothing now stood in his way to Stirling, the castle of which he immediately besieged. It was defended by William Oliphant, with great resolution, for three months. Edward at last declared, that he would hang every man of the garrison, if it was not surren-

dered by a certain day; and the place being now destitute of provisions, Oliphant made an honourable capitulation, which Edward did not punctually observe. The Scots were the less active in repairing their losses, because they were fed with hopes from the courts of France and Rome, that his holiness would soon oblige Edward to desist from his invasion. In fact, Boniface was so bent upon this, that he charged the archbishop of Canterbury, as his extraordinary legate, to present the bull, of which I have already given an account, in person to Edward, the same having hitherto lain dormant. The archbishop was, at the same time, to communicate to Edward a special mandate, in which his holiness said, "That for Sion's sake he could not rest." The archbishop, after surmounting prodigious difficulties on the road, reached Edward on the twenty-fifth of August, and punctually executed his commission. Having finished the reading of the bull and the mandate, Edward starting to his feet, "By the blood of God! (cried he) for Sion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem I will not be at rest; for, while breath is in my nostrils, I will, to the utmost of my power, maintain my well-known rights." Edward's fury being spent, the archbishop ventured to lay before him the consequences of making the pope his enemy, and Edward desired him to withdraw. Soon after, the archbishop was called in, and Edward told him, that the matter contained in the bull was of such consequence to the honour of his crown, and the interest of the English nobility, that he could return no answer concerning it, till he took the sense of his parliament, which he would immediately summon to meet; and that he would then send the result of their deliberations, by messengers of his own, to his holiness.

Haughty as Edward was, he dreaded a breach with the court of Rome, and would have made any concession, but that of relinquishing his claim to the crown of Scotland, to prevent it. Philip de Valois had this year sent Peter de Muncy, an ecclesiastic, and John de Barose, a knight, to conclude a truce between Edward, laying hold of this circumstance to

prevent matters from coming to extremity with the pope, granted a truce from the feast of all Saints that year, to Whit-Sunday next year. He refused, however, to do it at the instance of the king of France as a confederate with the Scots, but as his cousin and special friend, and an amicable mediator between both parties; and he compelled the said messengers to acknowledge the same before he agreed to the truce †. The French ambassadors, however, paid no regard to this declaration of Edward; for they immediately notified the truce in form to Sir John St. John, and Sir Adam Gordon, who had been appointed wardens of the marches by the states of Scotland, whom Philip all along considered as his allies.

During the continuance of this truce, Edward returned to England, and ordered writs to be issued from Rose-castle in Northumberland, dated September the twenty-sixth, for a meeting of his parliament at Lincoln on the octave of St. Hilary following. The chief ecclesiastics and antiquarians of England, and all who were conversant in the histories of the two kingdoms, were ordered to attend this parliament, to assist in its deliberations, and to bring with them extracts from all their archives of whatever could tend to prove the dependency of Scotland upon England. The parliament accordingly met at Lincoln in the beginning of the year 1301; but though the members disliked Edward's conduct towards themselves, they were unanimous in approving of it with regard to Scotland. From the minutes of this session, which Prynne has printed in his history of Papal Usurpations, it appears, that the members proceeded in the affair with greater delicacy than unanimity. Some were for laying aside entirely all consideration of the bull, and making no mention of it in their debates; others thought it below Edward's royal dignity to return any answer to the pope, who was both judge and party, in a matter that affected the honour of his crown and kingdom; but the majority agreed, that some answer should be

† Fordun gives us this incident almost in the words of the record, which I mention as a proof that he was well instructed in the facts he advances.



returned, and one accordingly drawn up on the twelfth of February. It began with asserting, "That the kings of England, during the Saxon heptarchy, were always lords paramount of Scotland, and had continued to be so ever since; that Scotland had never been dependant on the church of Rome; and that, having diligently considered his holiness's letters, it was, and for the future should be the common, unanimous, and unshaken, resolution of all and every one of them, that their lord the king, concerning his rights in Scotland, or other his temporal rights, should in no wise answer judicially before him, or send proxies or commissioners to him, especially when it would manifestly tend to the disinheritation of the crown of England, and dignity royal, the destruction of the kingdom, their liberties, usages, and hereditary laws, to which they are sworn, and which, by the help of God, they will maintain, to the utmost of their power: that they would not even suffer their king, should he attempt it, to act so inconsistently with his own state." They concluded, by desiring his holiness to give them no farther interruption in the possession of their just rights.

This letter was sent to the pope in the name of a hundred and five temporal lords. Edward, who wanted, if possible, to avoid a direct breach with the court of Rome, next applied to the clergy, lawyers, antiquaries, and other learned men, whom he had summoned to assist him in drawing up a particular state of his claim to the superiority of Scotland. This performance has likewise come to our hands, and appears evidently to be the work of the grossest credulity, or the most infamous imposture. Its ground-work is the romance of the noted Geoffrey of Monmouth, who brings Brutus the Trojan, after the destruction of Troy, into Britain, then inhabited by giants, whom he and his followers exterminated. Albanaſt, a younger son of Brutus, obtained Scotland (from him called Albany) for his patrimony; and he held it in fee of his elder brother. This is followed by a deduction of the conquest of the succeeding British kings. Nor is the story forgotten of Athel-

stan's striking his sword near an ell deep into a rock near Dunbar, as a mark of his superiority over Scotland.

Thus far this famous letter is dug from the bosom of fable and fiction ; but what follows, partakes of something worse. After mentioning some notorious forgeries, as evidences of the superiority of England over Scotland, the writers pretend, that upon the death of Margaret, the late queen of Scotland, the states there had voluntarily referred to Edward's determination, as supreme lord, the disputes that had arisen thereupon among the several competitors to the crown, in virtue of which reference he had declared John de Baliol lawful king of Scotland. They then proceed to give an account of the rebellion of Baliol and the states of Scotland against Edward ; and charge all the acts of hostility that had been committed by them as so many acts of treason against the English crown. They concluded with cautioning the pope against the false insinuations and suggestions of the Scots, and recommend their royal rights and dignities to the paternal care of his holiness. This letter is dated at Kemsley, the seventeenth of May, 1301. Had it not remained in the archives of England, from whence it has been often published, posterity would have found it difficult to believe that so glaring an imposition upon the understanding of mankind could have been attempted. In former writings of that kind, Edward thought it sufficient to carry his claims up to the time of the reign of the elder Edward ; but in this he has recourse to authorities that never existed, except in the brains of Geoffrey, and other monkish writers, whose forgeries had been detected, even in Edward's own time †. I have, in the course of this history, examined and disproved the facts adduced by Edward as they occurred ; and indeed their several falsities are so notorious, that it would be mispending the reader's time to insist farther upon them.

† Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote in the year 1200, treats Geoffrey as an impostor ; and William of Neuburgh, who lived before Edward the first, lashes him still more severely as a notorious romancer.

Upon the expiration of the truce in 1301, the Scots retook the castle of Caerlaverock, and prepared to defend themselves against Edward, who was determined to renew the war with greater vigour than ever. It was fortunate for the Scots, that not only the pope, but the other princes on the continent, nay, many of his own great men, looked upon Edward's proceeding against the Scots with horror. Though their agents at Rome, by Baliol's management, had been mean enough to agree to the papal submission, I have already mentioned, yet they had opened the eyes of all Europe with regard to Edward's injustice and cruelty towards the Scots. It was with difficulty he prevented the Welch from revolting, and his French subjects from taking up arms. The king of France had defeated the earl of Flanders, and his ally, and the pope was backward in carrying the treaty between him and the king of France into execution. No difficulties could damp Edward. Upon the expiration of the truce, he ordered his army to enter Scotland by Carlisle and Berwick at the same time; one division of his troops being commanded by himself, and the other by his son, the prince of Wales, whom he had been at great pains to render a complete warrior. The event of the campaign was far from answering Edward's sanguine expectations. He retook, indeed, the castle of Caerlaverock; but he was amazed at the good condition in which he found the Scots. Unable to force them to one of those general engagements which had been so often fatal to them, his convoys were cut off, and his soldiers harrassed on all sides. Arriving at Glasgow, he perceived some of his great men to be so much dissatisfied with his conduct, that they refused to undertake a negotiation with the king of France, to persuade him to abandon the Scots; and he found himself, after visiting Dunipace, under a necessity to winter at Linlithgow, where he built a fortress, called the Pele. While he lay there he received the motifying news, that his plenipotentiaries in France, had agreed with those of Philip to a new truce with the Scots. The particulars of this convention, so far as it relates to the latter, are as follow:



“ That whereas the king of France had frequently required the king of England to forbear molesting the noble prince John king of Scotland, and the Scots, his allies; and that the treaties intended for that effect having been, till now, by several impediments, delayed; therefore, in order to put an end to that affair, a cessation of arms was, by the plenipotentiaries of both the kings, agreed to continue till the feast of St. Andrew, being the 30th of November 1302: That the king of England shall ratify the agreement, with this reservation, that although the king of France gives always the title of king of Scotland to John Baliol, and calls the Scots his allies; yet he the king of England protests that he owns neither of them to be such.”

Edward durst not disown this treaty, but he filled all the courts of Europe with embassies and remonstrances against the Scots. He sent two of his ablest ministers, Hugh de Spencer and the earl of Lincoln, to Rome; but all their address had little or no effect in persuading the pope, that the Scots were a faithless perjured set of rebels. Upon his return to London, he received agents from his holiness, commanding him, in more peremptory terms than ever, to desist from persecuting the Scots, and to restore Baliol to his birth-right and family estates. He was so far from complying with this injunction, that he ordered John de Segrave, his governor of Berwick, to take upon him the title of guardian of Scotland, and to be in readiness to act against his rebels there, the moment the truce was expired. He gave Baliol's English estates to his nephew the duke of Bretagne, and he sent over writs to Ireland, commanding his subjects there to invade Scotland upon the expiration of the truce. Besides Segrave, the Scotch historians mention one Ralph Confray, (or rather Confrere) an English general, whom Edward put at the head of a army that was to invade Scotland. In the mean time, the earl of Artois, general to Philip de Valois, was totally defeated by the Flemings, which altered the state of affairs to the detriment of the Scots. Their friend the king of France began to think in good earnest of a peace with Edward, to-

wards whom he had always before behaved with an assumed superiority. Their cases in some respect were similar; for Edward acted almost the same part with regard to the Flemings, who were the vassals of France, as Philip had done toward the Scots; and for that reason Philip generally retorted upon Edward the very arguments the latter was always urging against his pretended vassals. Both parties, however, were now seriously disposed towards accommodation, at the expense of their allies; for the view with which Philip supported the Scots, was the same with that of Edward in befriending the Flemings, because each wanted an useful ally against the other.

Upon the opening of the conferences, Philip, who was unwilling that the power of Scotland should be entirely swallowed up by Edward, insisted upon their being parties in the negotiation, which Edward obstinately refused, and this difference for some time suspended the conferences: but to give the reader a clear idea of the immense difficulties which the sons of freedom in Scotland had to encounter at this time, it is necessary here to shift the scene to the court of Rome.

His holiness, delighted with the compliment of superiority which had been paid him by the Scotch, or rather, Baliol's agents, had encouraged them to resist Edward; but it was only that he might make them slaves to himself. This was a melancholy alternative: but it happened at this crisis, that for reasons foreign to our history, his holiness was more displeased with Philip than he was with Edward. It is even thought, that he would have gratified the latter in all he demanded, could he have brought him to declare war against France; but such a step might have been fatal to Edward, and therefore the pope stuck to his pretended superiority. The true patriots of Scotland, detesting subjection equally to ecclesiastical, as civil, tyrants, continued to act with an independent spirit; and though they admitted the name Baliol into their public acts and manifestos, they proceeded as if no person had existed. The bishop of Glasgow was among the foremost of this noble band, and atoned for his former attachment to Ed-

ward, by a public-spirited conduct which disclaimed vassalage to all parties. He was checked for this by a letter from his holiness, who disapproving of his principles of independency, advised him to more moderation, and even to leave a door open to be reconciled to Edward : a proof that Boniface, at this time, had some hopes of bringing that prince to declare against France.

From the above view of the dispositions of the great powers in Europe, it is evident, that the independent party in Scotland had then little to depend upon but their own address and courage. Edward, rather than admit them to be parties in the proposed negotiation, ordered his plenipotentiaries to return to England, where they complained in the parliament, which met the beginning of July, of his difficulties. Through the perpetual jealousies that subsisted between him and his great men, those complaints were but little attended to, and the plenipotentiaries were ordered to return to France and resume the conferences. The Scots, through the perseverance of Philip, carried their point, and Edward at last consented to admit their ambassadors into the negotiation. These were John Cumming, earl of Buchan, James, lord steward of Scotland, Soules, Engleram Umfraville, William Baliol, William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, and Matthew Crambeth, bishop of Dunkeld. Upon their arrival in France, the truce between the two nations was prolonged, at first to Easter 1302, and afterwards to Whitsuntide 1303.

The negotiating powers, in the treaty which was the result of the conferences, exhibited a lively proof of their interested principles ; for after the negotiations had continued during the winter 1302, Philip sacrificed the cause of the Scots to his own conveniency, as Edward did the earl of Flanders, who was not so much as named in the treaty. From a letter which has been published by Mr. Rymier, it appears, that Philip was at great pains to conceal his scandalous behaviour from the Scotch plenipotentiaries ; for they wrote to their friends in Scotland, " That their kingdom was not comprehended in the treaty of perpetual peace concluded between the two



kings of France and England, but that Philip continued still to be their firm friend ; and that he did not doubt, now that all animosities between him and Edward were abolished, of obtaining an interview with him at Amiens, and persuading him to agree to all the Scots should propose : that Philip had sent ambassadors to desire Edward to prolong the truce with Scotland ; and that if his request was refused, the Scots had still their own undaunted hearts to depend on." They added, " That did the Scots but know how much their valour was, over all the different climates of the world, celebrated upon account of their late behaviour, they would certainly be overjoyed, and encouraged to out-do themselves : That it was their own inclination, and earnest desire, to return with all haste, in order to be as useful to their country as was possible ; but that the king of France would not suffer them to depart till he had effected their business : That his ambassadors would probably go from the court of England to Scotland ; which if they did, they desired that they might be received with all imaginable respect and civility, both for the honour of them, the prelates and nobility, and for that of the kingdom."

However this letter might flatter the honest pride of the independent Scots, its unexpected contents had a terrible effect on the nation in general, which expected a very different event. Edward had early foreseen that Philip would be brought to give up the Scots, and he had sent Segrave orders to assemble thirty thousand of his best troops, which that general accordingly did, and extended his quarters into Scotland before expiration of the truce, but divided his army into three bodies, probably for the conveniency of subsistence. The Scots (I think very properly) considered those motions as a breach of the truce ; and Cumming the guardian, with Sir Simon Fraser, ordered a rendezvous of their troops, which amounted to no more than ten thousand men, at Biggar. The first division of the English lay about sixteen miles distant, at Roslin, which is situated five miles south-west of Edinburgh, and was commanded by Segrave himself. The two remaining divisions were commanded, one by Segrave's brother, or Confrere,

whom I have already mentioned, and the other by Sir Robert Neville; but all of them behaved towards the Scots as declared enemies, by desolating the country. Living, at once, in a state of rapine and security, they despised their enemies so much, that they even neglected the usual precautions and discipline of an army, and acted in every respect as if they had been in a conquered country; for such they declared Scotland to be, as such it is represented in all the English records of that time.

Cumming and Fraser (who is said to have had a great following in Tiviotdale, but being called by some John, and by others Simon, I suppose two of the same surname had commands in the same army, but that Simon was the superior officer) resolved to surprize the division of the English lying under Segrave at Rollin. They began their march in the night of Saturday preceding the first Sunday of Lent, and reached Segrave by break of day. Notwithstanding the privacy of the expedition and the suddenness of the attack, Segrave had time to have fallen back upon the second division of his own army; but either thinking that he would be dishonoured by a retreat, or holding his enemies in too great contempt, he stood to his arms, and was charged with so much resolution that he himself was taken prisoner, while all his men, except such as either threw down their arms or saved themselves by flying to their second division, were cut in pieces. As no fewer than three hundred men at arms or knights, each of whom brought, at least, five horsemen to the field, served in this routed army, great part of the Scots infantry quickly became cavalry; but while they were dividing the other rich spoils of the field, another army of the English appeared in view. The Scots, flushed with victory, and unwilling to relinquish either the glory or the booty they had acquired, engaged and routed this fresh army, though not without a bloody dispute, which gave time for the third, and most powerful division of the English to advance, under Neville.

The Scotch generals, says Fordun, were now obliged to exercise the double duties of preaching and commanding.

The spirits of their men were exhausted, their bodies fatigued, and their numbers thinned. They pleaded the excessive labours they had already undergone, they pointed to their wounds, and, in general, they seemed disposed to a retreat while it was yet in their power. Their two generals, who, perhaps, knew that to be impracticable, reminded them of the cause for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the English, the glories of their ancestors, and the disgrace of slavery. Their arguments prevailed; but they found themselves under the disagreeable necessity of putting all their vulgar prisoners to the sword. A third battle was begun, fought, and finished in the same day, and by the same body of men. The historians of Scotland have made their countrymen more than human in this combat, and have given them a third victory. It is sufficient to say, that it appears, from the relations of the English themselves, they stood their ground; that all the advantage Neville obtained, was his rescuing Segrave from his captivity; that lassitude alone prevented them from cutting off the retreat of the English towards Edinburgh; and that Neville pretended to an appearance of victory, only because he was not entirely defeated.

Three battles, gained each against superior numbers, raised the reputation of the Scots, both in England and upon the continent; but Edward, who knew how slippery an ally he had in the king of France, lost no time in crushing all their hopes. He summoned his military tenants to attend him with their land forces, and the cinque-ports to be in readiness with their ships. He appointed Roxburgh and Berwick for the places of rendezvous to his land-forces, and his fleet to wait for orders at Newcastle. The Scots had laid siege to Stirling-castle immediately upon the expiration of the truce; but were obliged to raise it through the vigorous defence of the garrison, who, at the same time, sent a letter to Edward, telling him they were reduced to extremity for want of provisions. This letter was by the messenger put into the hands of the Scotch generals, who resumed the siege, and in three days time the castle capitulated to the lord John Soules, who



gave the command of it, with a good garrison, to its former governor, Oliphat. All those successes, on the part of the Scots, proved but gleams of sunshine before a dreadful storm. The army of Edward was the most numerous he had ever brought into the field; and having mustered it at Roxburgh, he fell upon Scotland with irresistible fury. He crossed the Forth, and leaving behind him the castle of Stirling unreduced, he laid siege to that of Brehin, which, before the use of artillery, was considered as being next to impregnable. Its governor, Thomas Maul, who was of French extraction, was so confident of its strength, that, after Edward had for twenty days battered it with all his military engines, he wiped with his handkerchief a place of the wall that had been struck from the besieging batteries. He scarcely had committed this, perhaps imprudent, action, when he himself was struck dead by another stone; upon which the garrison, who had the greatest dependence upon his valour and firmness, capitulated. The castle of Urquhart, in the country of Murray, next felt the fury of Edward. It was defended by one Alexander de Bois, who is supposed to have been the ancestor of the present family of Forbes; and Edward, taking the place by storm, put all the garrison to the sword. It is said, that the governor's wife, being big with child, escaped the carnage, and brought forth a son, Alexander, who became afterwards an excellent patriot, and continued the family.

Edward, after continuing for some time in the North, returned to Dunfermline, where he took up his winter-quarters, as did his son, the prince of Wales, at Perth. His success seems to have been chiefly owing to the favourable season, which suffered him to draw abundance of provisions from his fleet; and we are told by Fordun, there was then such plenty in Scotland, that a flaggon of French wine (by which, I suppose, is meant a Scotch pint, or two English quarts) was sold for four pennies Scots. When Edward came to Stirling, in his return southward, he heard that the bridge was broken down, and that the Scots were drawn up on the opposite bank of Forth. I am inclined to believe, that this was done by Wallace and

a few of his friends, who still attended his fortunes. Edward, on receiving the news as he was going to dinner, immediately mounted his horse, and riding to a fordable part of the river, plunged into it, and passed it; while the Scots retired. Cumming, seeing he and his party could make no head against the English, renewed his applications to Edward for terms of peace; and the author of the *Scotichronicon*, the best Scotch history we have of that time, says, that all the great men of Scotland came to king Edward's peace, that is, submitted to his mercy, except William Wallace, by which he no doubt means that chieftain, and his few friends, who still shared in his fortunes.

Edward was far from being inexorable to Cumming's applications. Though he knew that the Scots had been deserted by the court of France, it was not impossible that incidents and mutual interest might renew their connections; and, after various negotiations, the following terms were at last agreed upon.

“ First, That all who came to the peace of the king with the said John Cumming (except the persons after-named) should have their lives and limbs saved, and neither be imprisoned nor disinherited. Secondly, That their ransom and fine, to be exacted upon the account of faults to be committed against the king, should be regulated by him, in his next parliament; in which the establishment of Scotland should also be ordained. Thirdly, That all the strong holds, now in the king's or his friends hands, should remain so, and the charge of keeping them to be defrayed by the owners. Fourthly, That the prisoners on both sides, except Mon. de Morham, and him his father, as also the hostages for the payment of the ransom of prisoners, be also released.

The negotiators of this peace, on the English side, were Richard de Burgh, earl of Uulster; Aymer de Valence, lord of Montignac; Henry de Piercy, knight; and John de Bensted, clerk. Those on the part of the Scots were John Cumming of Badenoch, Edmund Cumming of Kilbride, John de

Graham, John de Vaux, Godfrey de Roos, John de Maxwell senior, Peter de Bendergyft, Walter Berkley de Kerdau, Hugh de Loth, William de Erth, James de Roos, and Walter de Rathervan, knights, for themselves and all their adherents. The persons who had the glory to be excepted, were Robert bishop of Glasgow, James lordsteward of Scotland, John Soulis, David Graham, Alexander Lindsay, Simon Fraser, Thomas Boece, and William Wallace. Those exceptions were thought by Edward necessary forms to satisfy his honour, rather than gratify his revenge; for he was willing that the bishop, the steward, and John Soulis, should be safe as to their lives, limbs, liberties, and estates, provided they lived two years in banishment out of Scotland, south of Trent; but that the steward's castle should be put into the king's possession, and at the steward's expence. Graham and Lindsay were to have the like, but milder, conditions; for the former was to be banished for three years, unless, in the mean time, they could make interest to be pardoned. As to the brave Wallace, he had the distinguished honour of being totally proscribed; for Edward would hear of no terms for him, but an unconditional submission to his mercy. That hero still continued in arms; and there is no doubt that he might have obtained the most favourable conditions, had not Edward been thoroughly convinced of his inflexibility in the cause of his country.

Wallace was bravely seconded by Oliphant, who, as we have seen, had been again appointed by the Scotch regency governor of Stirling-castle. In his return from the North, Edward put to the sword the garrisons of all the places who did not immediately surrender; and he burnt down all the abbey of Dunfermline, excepting its church and cells, on pretence that it served as a receptacle for his enemies. When he came to St. Andrew's, foreseeing that the castle of Stirling would make a vigorous resistance, he stripped all the lead from the refectory there, to be employed in supplying his battering machines during the siege; and Oliphant was solemnly summoned to surrender, but in vain. Edward, upon this, drew out all his artillery, and most furiously battered the walls



with stones, as we are told, of two hundred pounds weight, which made vast breaches; but the governor still refused to capitulate. His defence was so obstinate, that numbers of the besiegers were killed; and Edward, enraged to the highest degree, exposed his person so freely, that he must have been killed by an arrow, had it not been for the goodness of his armour. Holding the weapon up, he threatened to hang the man who shot it, and resolved upon a general assault. For that purpose he summoned his officers together, expatiated on the justice of his cause, and shewed them how practicable the breaches were. According to the English authors, the garrison was now reduced to twenty eight person, to whom Edward would grant no condition, but that of surrendering at discretion. The *Scotichronicon* says, that a capitulation was signed and sealed, but that Edward, in direct violation of his good faith, sent the governor prisoner to London, where he remained in confinement for some years; and together with him about an hundred Scotchmen of rank, who had refused or neglected to surrender themselves to Edward's peace, were distributed in captivity through different fortresses of England; but Walsingham, the English historian, says, that Edward spared the lives of the remains of the garrison of Stirling-castle. The imprisonment of those brave men, and the reduction of Stirling-castle, flattered Edward with the hopes that Scotland was now entirely subdued. We learn, from *Trivet's annals*, that in the middle of Lent this year he assembled a great council, consisting of the Scotch and his own nobility, at St. Andrew's, where he proceeded against all delinquents, and sat in judgment on those who had submitted to his peace. The castle of Stirling, however, was not surrendered till the twentieth of July, after which he new-modelled the administration of Scotland, both civil and military, and renewed Segrave's commission as governor. He then set out for York, from whence he proceeded to Lincoln, where he kept his Christmas.

Edward could not but be sensible, from the temper and dispositions of the Scots, that the chief advantages he had

gained over them were owing to their own dissensions, and that the severities he had made them suffer tended only to render them more desperate. He resolved to alter his plan of conduct, and took into his confidence the bishop of Glasgow and Robert Bruce, though then exiles in England, with John Mowbray, who, next to Bruce and the Cummings, was amongst the greatest of the Scotch temporal nobility; and he recommended to them the settling the affairs of their country, but still with a view of uniting it with England, under himself. This was a great and a comprehensive scheme, and suited to the genius of Edward as a form of government to Scotland, pretty near resembling that of Ireland, even as it stands at this day.

The lords to whom he communicated his intentions soon understood that the fate of Scotland was to be determined in an English parliament, and that all they had to deliberate upon was the mode of proceeding. This could not be extremely agreeable to Bruce, whose only competitor now for the Scotch crown was Cumming, the late regent; and him he knew how to render tractable. Edward was then about to hold his lent parliament at London; but the three referees, the very next day, gave him their report, which was to the following purpose: That they apprehended no parliament could be held in Scotland before the 24th of June, (the feast of St. John the Baptist) because the Scots could not, before Easter, attend at any certain day or place in consequence of the chancellor's brief; but they submitted that consideration entirely to the king; that the commissioners who were to attend the English parliament for settling the affairs of Scotland, ought to consist of two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two commoners, who were to have their expences borne; and that the then government of Scotland should remain in the regent, the king's officers, and the community of the kingdom, by which was undoubtedly meant the states of Scotland. Edward, having considered those opinions, confirmed them, and ordered writs to be issued for assembling a parliament to meet at London three weeks after

Midsummer, at which place and time the commissioners chosen by the community of Scotland, were to attend to treat with other commissioners appointed on the part of the English. Those for Scotland were the bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunkeld, the abbots of Coupar and Melros, the earl of Buchan and John Mowbray, Robert Keith, Adam Gordon, with John de Inchmartin and the earl of March, who did not attend. Those appointed on the part of England were, the bishop of Chester, the abbot of Westminster, the earl of Lincoln, Hugh d'Espenser, John de Hastings, (who could not come because he was sick) John Botetout, Roger Brabazon, William Bereford, John de Isle, Reynard Brandon, Hugh, monk of Mancester, Sir John Beinstead, the bishop of Worcester, the abbot of Waverly, the earl of Hereford, Henry Piercy, William Martyn, Sir John Sandale, Sir Ralph Hengham, Roger Hengham; and Philip Martel.

The English parliament not meeting before the 15th of September, 1305 Edward appointed Sir John de Monteith, a new Scotch favourite whom he had gained over, to supply the place of the earl of March. After deliberating for twenty days, the duke of Bretagne was appointed to be governor of Scotland, Sir William Bevercote to be chancellor, Sir John Sandale chamberlain, and Sir Robert Heron comptroller. Those four great officers of state had a power of appointing the inferior magistrates; all distinctions between the native Scots and the English within Scotland were to be abolished, and all places of power and profit there to be conferred equally on both. Though those were alarming institutions, yet it is plain from the record which contains them, that Edward still intended to have preserved the appearance of a separate parliament and government in Scotland. The words are very clear and precise. And from them it is evident, that Edward's intention was to annex Scotland to his crown, to keep up certain forms of its ancient constitution, but to abolish the spirit of its government. To make this regulation the more agreeable to the Scots, it was attended by a general pardon to the nobility who had borne arms against Edward; but clogged



with the following extraordinary exceptions : All the estate of Baliol and the sovereignty of Scotland was vested in Edward : John Cumming and his adherents were, by way of atonement for their crimes of rebellion against him, to forfeit three years rent of their estates ; for building new castles in Scotland, or for any other purposes the king pleased : All the people of Scotland, who submitted to Edward before John Baliol, were to pay two years rents of their lands : The whole body of the clergy of Scotland, excepting the bishop of Glasgow, who was subjected to the same mulct as John Cumming, was to pay one year's rent of their incomes. It was farther agreed, that Ingelram de Umfreville, because he made his submission a little before these letters were granted, should pay five years value ; and that William de Baliol and John Wishart should pay, for the same reason, four years rent. Farther, that Hugh de Adrossan, John de Gourley, John de Naper, and John de Makilgoigny, who were of the retinue of the said William, Ingelram, and John, should pay three years value. Out of this pardon were likewise excepted all the Scots who were then prisoners to Edward, and those who had not submitted to his power. The writ itself is dated the fifteenth of October, 1305.

This pardon is a full proof of Edward's rigour in matters of government, and is founded upon the second article of the treaty with Cumming and his friends, concluded in February 1304. Edward, who seems to have been solicitous in soothing the Scots, granted the delinquents half of their estates to subsist upon ; but the other half was to be paid to his officers, till the whole of their mulcts were discharged. We are told that, in consequence of this pardon, the nobility and clergy of Scotland renewed their oaths of fidelity to the king of England.

All Edward's plausible arts could not disguise his true intention from Bruce, who was then a young man of greater vivacity than experience ; but having been bred under a versatile father, he knew how to conceal his sentiments, whatever were his feelings. Through all the fondness which Edward

expressed for his person, he found him full of distrust and jealousy at the bottom ; and he knew that it was owing to that king's management that he had been left out of the commission for settling the affairs of Scotland. Edward, however, with all his discernment, did not see the extent of Bruce's genius, and considered him only as a sprightly young nobleman, over whom he must hold a firm and watchful hand. He had claimed Bruce's castle of Kildrummey, as belonging to the royalty of Scotland ; and the latter knew not how to evade the demand, but by delivering his countrymen from the chains they were now submitting to wear. He was well qualified for his arduous undertaking. To a mind enterprising, intrepid, and persevering, nature had added in Bruce a vigorous constitution, capable of bearing the extremes of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Being a complete master in the exercise of his arms, he was well fitted to command detached parties ; and his genius was so fruitful in resources, that he afterwards rose greater from every defeat he sustained. He had received an excellent education, for the times in which he lived, and therefore we cannot suppose him insensible of the glory due to Greek and Roman patriotism ; and he had a particular passion for supporting the antiquity and independency of his own country.

Cumming the regent, surnamend, from his complexion, the Red, had acquired great reputation while he was at the head of affairs in Scotland ; but, though brave in person, and able in council, he had not the heroic disposition of Bruce, the glory of his country being but his second consideration ; and, for that reason, he never had been cordially trusted by Wallace. Seeing himself divested of power, he could not, however, forbear dropping some expressions and discontent against Edward, which were carried to Bruce, who immediately resolved, if possible, to bring Cumming into his views. A tragical incident for Scotland, which happened at this time, promoted their union.

Wallace still remained proscribed, and the connections between Edward and the king of France were become now so

obnoxious to the Scots nation, that it was certainly a very fit time for Sir William Wallace and his friends to appear again in the fields in opposition to that army with which King Edward marched triumphantly through Scotland. That prince could not think himself an absolute conqueror, while Wallace stood out, he therefore courted him to his peace, as he could not be awed into submission by threats, by magnificent promises of honours and wealth, places and pensions, but in vain; his constant answer was, "That he owed his life to, and would freely lay it down for his country: That should all Scotsmen but himself submit to the King of England, he never would, nor would he ever give obedience or swear allegiance to any power save to the King of Scotland his righteous sovereign."

Since therefore neither threats nor promises could conquer the invincible soul of our Scots Cato, the English Cæsar bethought himself of the only expedient that yet remained untried to subject him. He caused the promises and bribes rejected by Wallace, be offered to some of his fastest friends, that they might betray him; and a traitor was found, viz. Sir John Monteith, who brought a party of Englishmen upon him, and having apprehended him, carried him to London. This gave inexpressible pleasure to the whole English nation, and to Edward in particular, who impeaching him for high treason, tried him by the laws of England, though he never was a subject of the King of England, or submitted to the laws of that country, and therefore could not be a traitor. Notwithstanding of which he was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which sentence was accordingly put in execution with the outmost barbarity. Thus fell this glorious hero, for no crime but being a friend to his own country, which the English reckoned a most heinous one.

F I N I S.





